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PATRISTIC USE OF THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

BARD THOMPSON
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I

THE SIBYLLINE PROBLEM

THAT THE GREEK AND LATIN FATHERS made rather extensive use of the Sibylline Oracles is not the issue of our study, for this is an easily proven fact. Stated mathematically, some eight hundred lines of the Oracles have found their way into twenty-two pieces of Patristic writing. Lactantius quotes from the Sibyl or alludes to her "prophecies" at least fifty-one times in his works. Of this number, forty-four of the references appear in his *Divine Institutes* (exclusive of the *Epitome*). Clement of Alexandria borrowed eleven quotations from the ancient prophetess, amounting to an aggregate of forty-six verses. Justin Martyr has used the direct witness of the Sibyl(s) six times to verify the truths of the Gospel. In his letter to Autolychus, Theophilus has included the whole of the three introductory fragments and a portion of Book III. St. Augustine has cited the celebrated acrostic[1] of Book VIII in his *City of God* as a genuine prophecy of Christ which had fallen from the lips of the Erythraean Sibyl. To this list may be added *Apostolical Constitutions* (in which there is one long quotation), Athenagoras' *Legatio* (containing one quotation), Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (which includes a lengthy allusion to a part of Book III), Eusebius' *Preparation* and *Oration of Constantine* (two citations being given in each), Hippolytus' *Refutation of All Heresies, Philosophumena,* and *de Christo et Antichristo* (each of which contains one citation), and Tertullian's *ad Nationes* and *de Pallio* (the first containing a quotation, the latter an allusion). The lists appended to this study, though woefully incomplete, have been drawn up to give some idea of the number and location of Sibylline quotations in Patristic writings. These lists will probably be impressive enough, although some rather shocking quotations could be lifted from the writings of almost any one of these Fathers, bearing on their use of the Sibylline Oracles. But—let it be repeated—this is not the issue. It is not a matter for dis-

1. A composition, usually in verse, in which one or more sets of initial letters, when taken in order, form words.

cussion, but a *fact* that the Fathers used these ancient oracles rather extensively.

The issue, which has particular relevance on the use of indigenous religious materials in Christian missions, is *how* the Fathers used these *pagan* oracles. It was more than a country-store philosophy which the Fathers were using to support their arguments when they quoted the Sibylline Oracles. Within three hundred years (500-200 B.C.) the Roman Sibyl had transformed the cold conscientious formalism of the Religion of Numa into the orgiastic ferment which reached its peak during the Punic War. The Oracles doubtless contributed to the breaking of the Roman equipoise.[2] And now, some three hundred years later, Lactantius was peddling about the pagan world what he insisted to be the genuine Erythraean prophecies.[3] "We shall speak of the Sibyl without any distinction, wherever we shall have occasion to use their testimonies," he insisted. But he was quick to add that the Erythraean Sibyl "is regarded among the others as more celebrated and noble."[4] "Other Sibyls"[5] do not impress him; when he is obliged to refer to them, he represents them as second-class authorities. It is quite obvious that Lactantius was making a special point of quoting the most renowned of the pagan prophetesses.

Those who stress Old Testament continuity in the Early Church must reckon with the fact that Lactantius makes a time and a half as many references to the Sibyl as he does to the combined number of Old Testament prophets.[6] Clement of Alexandria is somewhat more circumspect in selecting his sources (making only ten references to the prophetess), but he offers the suggestion that St. Paul advocated the reading of the Oracles.[7] As far as Clement is concerned, the Sibyl is a valid "teacher,"[8] whose "song of Salvation" is worthy of the readers' attention, for "in remarkable accordance with inspiration, she has compared delusion to darkness, and the knowledge of God to sun and

2. J. B. Carter, *Religion of Numa* (London, 1906), p. 63.

3. *On the Wrath of God*, XXII. 7; *The Divine Institutes*, VII. 19. 9; VII. 20. 1; VII. 24.

4. *D.I.*, I. 6.

5. E.g., *D.I.*, IV. 15.

6. In his total works, Lactantius quotes or alludes to Isaiah twenty-two times; to Jeremiah, eleven times; to Ezekiel, once; to Daniel, four times; to Hosea, three times; to Amos, once; to Zachariah, two times; to Malachi, two times.

7. *Strom.*, VI. 5.

8. *Protrept.*, IV. 50.

light, and subjecting both to comparison, shows the choice we ought to make."[9] Justin Martyr introduces a discussion of monotheism by noting that the same doctrine had been taught by that "very old and ancient Sibyl (whom Plato, Aristophanes, and others called a prophetess)."[10] Following three brief Sibylline poems, Justin closes somewhat perfunctorily with what he must have thought to be the clinching line: "Such are the words of the Sibyl"—Your own Sibyl said this!

The prophetess was thus used pre-eminently to appeal to the pagan mind. This is manifestly the purpose of the quotation in *Apostolical Constitutions* (v. 7) which is given the following introduction: "But if the Gentiles laugh at us, and disbelieve our Scriptures, let at least their own prophetess Sibylla oblige them to believe, who says this to them in express words: . . ." Theophilus is hardly as skillful in making the Oracles serve as confirmation for the Gospel; too often the Sibyl is made to speak in her own right. Her wisdom is frequently commended quite apart from the Gospel. Following the reproduction of two unusually long Sibylline passages (Fragments i, iii), Theophilus concludes "that obviously these things are true and useful, and just, and profitable to all men."[11]

The tendency to use the Sibylline Oracles quite apart from recognized Scripture reached its peak in Lactantius. He quotes the prophetess on monotheism (*D.I.*, I. 6), on everlasting life (*D.I.*, II. 13), and the fall of man (*D.I.*, II. 13). According to Lactantius, the prophetess foretold the coming of the Son of God (*D.I.*, IV. 6), his life and miracles (*D.I.*, IV. 19), his Passion (*D.I.*, IV. 16, 18) and Resurrection (*D.I.*, IV. 19). Living as he did in times of persecution, Lactantius readily grasped the bizarre Sibylline eschatology. From the Oracles, he drew prophecies of the Second Coming, the Last Judgment, and the General Resurrection (*D.I.*, VII);[12] and, accepting them as genuine *testimonia,* he adapted them into an exaggerated chiliasm.

But Lactantius was not the last of the Fathers to be bewitched by the prophetess. Quoting the acrostic of Book VIII, Constantine assures the Assembly of the Saints that "it is evident that the virgin uttered these verses under the influence of Divine inspiration. And I cannot

9. *Ibid.*, VIII.
10. *Cohort. ad Graec.*, 16.
11. *To Autolychus*, II. 36.
12. For particular quotations, see Appendix, II.

but esteem her blessed, whom the Saviour thus selected to unfold his gracious purpose towards us" (*Oratio,* XVIII). Augustine reproduces the same passage as genuine prophecy and ponders whether the Erythraean Sibyl "ought to be reckoned among those who belong to the City of God" (*City of God,* XVIII. 23). And, in passing, Augustine gives a certain credibility to Lactantius' use of the Oracles by reproducing in a series many of his Sibylline quotations and by giving passive acceptance to his technique.[13]

This may be called the Sibylline problem: *why* the Fathers were willing to use pagan prophecies, and *how* they used them. In order to answer these questions, it is necessary (first) to determine the origin of the classical Sibylline Oracles, (second) to establish the relationship between the classical Oracles and the later Jewish-Christian pseudepigrapha, and (third) to discover upon which of these the Fathers relied.

II

THE CLASSICAL SIBYL

Not even the name "Sibyl" can be discussed with any certainty. Sometime during the sixth century, a "simple, credulous Christian"[14] undertook the literary task of collecting and arranging the Oracles as an aid to Christian piety. In his prologue, he notes that "Sibyl is a Roman term, meaning prophetess or seer; hence female seers have been designated by this single name."[15] Although this hypothesis, being put forward in the editor's preface, is the most closely related to the Sibylline Oracles as they have come down to us, it is neither the oldest theory, nor the most sound. According to Lactantius (*D.I.,* I. 6), Marcus Terentius Varro, whose *Divine Antiquities* appeared shortly before Augustus, argued "that the Sibylline books were not the production of one Sibyl only, but that they were called by one name Sibylline (Σίβυλλα), because all prophetesses were called Sibyl by the ancients, either from the name of one, the Delphic priestess, or from their proclaiming the counsels of the gods. For in the Aeolic (or Doric) dialect, they used to call the gods by the word *sioi* (Σιοί), not *theoi* (θεοί) and for "counsel" they used the word *bolla* (βολλᾶ), not *boule* (βουλῆ), so that the

13. *Basic Writings of St. Augustine* (ed. W. J. Oates), II, 428.

14. J. Moffatt, "Sibylline Oracles", *Hastings Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* II (Edinburgh, 1918), p. 482.

15. M. S. Terry, *The Sibylline Oracles* (New York, 1890), p. 21.

Sibyl received her name as though *Siobule"* (i.e., "the counsel of *God")*.[16] This, according to R. H. Charles,[17] is the "universal testimony of antiquity," and is supported by archeological findings. One must amend Charles's idea of universality to admit Pausanias' thesis (*Phocea,* XII), which was popular in the Delphic circles of his time, that σίβυλλα was simply a metathesis for λίβυσσα (i.e., Libyan woman).[18] J. P. Postgate (writing in the *American Journal of Philology*)[19] strikes rather at the heart of Varro's thesis. The usage of σιός, he argues, is Laconian, not Doric; and since the loss of an accented syllable is unlikely, Postgate prefers σιβ–υλα–γα (i.e., "the wise [little] woman") from the root σαβ (to be wise) with –υλο– being used in a diminutive sense. Emmanuel Hoffmann, having accepted the σιός hypothesis, relates it to ἴλλαος-ἴδαος, creating the compound, "God-appeasing," in order to suit the primary purpose of the Oracles.[20] S. Kraus places *sib* (i.e., "old") with *il,* creating *sib-il,* "the ancient of God."[21] Similarly, H. Lewy traces *sibulla* to the Aramaic root *sâbᵉtâ,* "grandmother."[22] These latter theses reflect the trend of more recent scholarship to suggest an Oriental origin of the name, while frankly admitting the obscurity which surrounds it. This is the position taken by J. B. Carter,[23] Warde Fowler,[24] James Moffatt, and H. J. Rose.[25] Moffatt concludes: "Σίβυλλα occurs as a proper (woman's) name in an Attic inscription from the 4th century B.C., but, while this argument suggests that Sibyl may have been a proper name to begin with, it is insufficient to prove that Sibyl was a Greek term, not an Oriental."[26]

Thus, scholarship has generally accepted the fact that "Sibyl" was a proper name which originated either in Greece or the Near East. There are only two exceptions to this cumulative position. R. H. Klausen[27] asserts that the word is not a proper name but implies a

16. For notes on Varro, see Carter, *op. cit.,* p. 142.
17. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford, 1913), II, 368.
18. Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (New York, 1868), p. 482.
19. III (1882), 333-34.
20. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie,* I (1895), 90-113.
21. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* XI (1902), 122-23.
22. *Philologus,* LVII (1898), 350-51.
23. *Op. cit.,* p. 65.
24. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), p. 257.
25. *Handbook of Greek Mythology* (New York, 1928), p. 138.
26. *Op. cit.,* p. 477.
27. *Aeneas und die Penaten.* Cf., Charles, *op. cit.,* p. 368.

sound issuing from a subterranean oracle, made either by the rustling of wind, as in the case of the oaks of Dodona, or by the splash of water. Max Müller has tried to place the origin of the word in the primitive Italian *sabus* or *sabius,* "wise."[28] By the time of Servius, the commentator on Virgil,[29] the name was applied to any woman of prophetic gifts (*Aen.,* III. 455), but originally it was restricted to a small class of prophetesses known as the classical Sibyl. They created a tremendous impact upon the life of the period.

Perhaps the earliest mention of Sibyl is that by Heraclitus of the fifth century B.C., preserved by Plutarch (in *De Pyth. Or.* 709C). The prophetess, "who speaking with inspired mouth, without a smile, without perfume, penetrates through the centuries by the powers of the gods." He is especially struck by the eschatology of the poems, which specify "many revolutions and upheavals of Greek cities, many appearances of barbarous hordes and murders of rulers." Aristophanes (*Peace,* 1095, 1116; *Birds* 962), Plato (*Phaedrus,* 244B, *Meno,* 99C), and Aristotle all know of one Sibyl. Aristophanes refers to the prophetess frequently and always with some tinge of respect, in one instance (*Peace,* 1095) granting her utterances more prestige than the "grand oracles of Homer." In the *Phaedrus* (244B), Plato seems to take a rather dim view of this prophetic "madness" and suggests that Sibyl has survived solely on her ability to predict future events. But if we follow the interpretation of Justin Martyr (*Exhortation to the Greeks,* 37), Plato shows a complete change of heart in the *Meno* (99): "Those persons whom we now call prophets we should really call divine . . . and endowed with the gift of ecstasy through the inspiration and possession of God, when they foretell exactly many great events, while they are totally unconscious of what they are saying." "In this passage," writes Justin, "Plato clearly referred to the Sibylline prophecies. . . . In fact, I think it was because he read her prophecies that Plato considered Prophets to be divine persons."[30] In his *Eclogue* IV, Virgil apparently borrowed Sibyl's description of the Golden Age (Book III, 785 ff.); and, in several places, Lactantius asserts that Homer used materials from the Oracles (e.g., *D.I.,* I. 6.9).

28. *Lectures on the Science of Language* (London, 1892), I, 109.

29. For notes on Servius, see H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Latin Literature* (London, 1936), p. 455.

30. Translation by T. B. Falls, *Writings of Saint Justin Martyr* (New York, 1948), pp. 420 f.

The first author to notice a plurality of Sibyls was apparently the Sophist Sopater, who is quoted by Photius as the author of a work on prophetic women, "which include the so-called Sibyls."[31] Solinus and Ausonius recognize three. In his *Description of Greece* (Bk. x, ch. xii), Pausanias mentions "the first Herophile" of Erythrae as being the most ancient of all the Sibyls, a daughter of Zeus and Lamia; and a second Herophile, the Cumaean Demo, who was earlier than the Trojan war and foretold the ruin which Helen was destined to bring upon Asia and Europe. He also mentions two others: a Libyan Sibyl and "subsequent to Demo, an oracular woman among the Hebrews named Sabbe; Berosus is said to have been the Father, Erymanthes the Mother, of Sabbe. Some call her the Babylonian, others the Egyptian Sibyl." This may well be the "prophetess of the Hebrews" whom Clement of Alexandria mentions in his *Exhortation to the Heathen,* VI.[32] More significant is that fact that Justin Martyr linked this Hebrew or (as he believed) Babylonian prophetess to the Sibylline center at Cumae. Reporting his visit to that place (*Exhortation,* 37), Justin explains that "the Sibyl was of Babylonian descent, being the daughter of Berosus, author of the *History of Chaldaea.* After she had traversed the sea and had arrived (I do not know how) in the province of Campania, she began to utter oracles in Cumae. . . ."[33]

Thus, Pausanias knew of four Sibyls. Clement of Alexandria mentions nine: "the Hebrew prophetess" (*Protrept.,* VI); "the Phrygian . . . called Artemis"; "an Erythraean, called Herophile"; "the Egyptian Sibyl; and the Italian who inhabited the Carmentale in Rome" (*Strom.,* I. 21); and the Sibyl(s) from Helicon and/or from Milea (*Strom.,* I. 15). Marcus Terentius Varro drew up a list of ten Sibyls, which Lactantius has preserved in the *Divine Institutes* (I. 6) and which the unknown editor of the sixth century A.D. included in his preface to the Oracles:

> There were Sibyls, as many writers tell us, in different ages and localities, to the number of ten: first, the Chaldaean or Persian, whose proper names was Sambethe (i.e., Sabbe), belonging to the race of the most blessed Noah (Cf., Bk. III, line 827), and said to have foretold the events connected with Alexander the Macedonian; she is mentioned by Nicanor, the biographer of Alexander. Second, the Libyan Sibyl, mentioned by Euripides in the prologue to the Lamia. Third, the Delphic, born at Delphi, of whom Chrysippus speaks in his book

31. Charles, *op. cit.,* p. 369.
32. *Ante-Nicene Christian Library,* IV, 72.
33. Translation by T. B. Falls, *op. cit.,* p. 420.

upon the deity. Fourth, the Italian Sibyl of Cimmeria in Italy, the mother of Evander, who founded the shrine of Pan in Rome called the lupercal. Fifth, the Erythraean Sibyl, who predicted the Trojan War; Apollodorus, the Erythraean, vouches for her. Sixth, the Samian Sibyl, whose proper name was Phyto; Erastosthenes has written of her. Seventh, the Cumaean Sibyl called Amalthea and also Herophile, by some Taraxandra; Virgil (*Aen.* VI. 36) calls the Cumaean Sibyl Deiphobe, the daughter of Glaucus. Eighth, the Hellespontine Sibyl, born at the village of Marpessus near the town of Gergiton, in the district of Troad, during the days of Solon and Cyrus, as Heraclides Ponticus writes. Ninth, the Phrygian, and tenth, the Tiburtine Sibyl, called Albunea.[34]

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the unknown editor described Lactantius (i.e., "Firmianus") as "a philosopher of no small repute and a priest of the aforesaid Capitol (who) opened his eyes to Christ. . . ."[35] Doubtless this editor was somewhat bewildered by the volume of Sibylline material in Lactantius' works and concluded that he must have served the prophetess as priest in the Capitoline temple.

There is convincing testimony that the earliest and most famous of the Sibyls was the Erythraean. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, I. 21) asserts that she lived prior to Orpheus, whereas Augustine (*City of God*, XVIII. 23) and Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, X. 12) and Varro (Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6) make her contemporaneous with the seige of Troy. But Tertullian (*Ad Nationes*, II. 12) describes the Erythraean passage from which he is quoting as being "before all literature." Constantine has preserved an ancient tradition (*Oratio*, XVIII) that she was connected with Apollo.[36] The claims of Erythrae to be the birthplace of the Sibyl were eventually challenged by Marpessus. Erythrae based her claims on the testimony of the Sibyl herself, which Pausanias has preserved in his *Descriptions* (X. 12.3):

> ἐιμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γεγαυῖα μέσον θνητῆς τε θεᾶς τε
> νύμθης τ' ἀθανάτης πατρὸς δ' αὖ κητοφαγόω
> μητρό θεν Ἰδογενὴς, πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθρή.

But Marpessus alleged that ἐρυθρή was merely an adjective and that the next line had been suppressed:

> Μαρπησσός, μητρὸς ἰορή, ποταμὸς δ' Ἀϊδωνεύς.

34. Terry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f.; Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 482.
35. Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Moffatt, *op. cit.*, p. 482.
36. Cf., Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Quite early the Sibyl of Cumae (near Neapolis on the coast of Italy) rivaled the fame of the prophetess of Erythrae. And it was through Cumae that the Sibylline stimulus entered Roman religion. The cult of Apollo, who inspired the Sibyl, had spread from that city to Rome toward the close of the kingdom. It was in his wake that the Sibylline books came.[37]

Through the witness of many classical and Christian writers, we are able to piece together the characteristics of the Cumaean Sibyl. Justin Martyr (*Cohort.*, 37) describes the cave, made out of the single massive rock, from which the oracles were given, and the three pools in which the Sibyl bathed. According to Virgil, Aeneas consulted the then seven-hundred-year-old prophetess to learn the future and the secrets of the lower world.[38] Servius, in his commentary on Virgil, *Eclogue* IV, mentions that the Cumaean Sibyl divided up the ages under the names of metals and showed which god was ruler in each. We have already heard the testimony of Heraclitus that the eschatology of the oracles was gloomy and dire—an opinion which Aristotle shared.

According to legend, the Cumaean Sibyl brought her books along to Rome. We are uninformed on the origin and character of this canon. But Marcus Varro (Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6) and Dionysius Halicarnasseus (*Antiq. Rom.*, IV. 62)—two men from whom history had no secrets—report that Amalthea offered her nine books to Tarquin Priscus for a certain price—three hundred philippics, and that

> the king refused so great a price, and derided the madness of the woman; that she, in the sight of the king, burnt three of the books, and demanded the same price for those which were left; that then Tarquinius much more considered the woman to be mad; and that when she again, having burnt three other books, persisted in asking the same price, the king was moved, and bought the remaining books for the three hundred pieces of gold. . . . (Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6).

The Cumaean Sibyl exercized a tremendous influence over the development of Roman religion. It was necessary to increase the priesthood (II*viri sacris faciundis*) to ten in 367 B.C. and to fifteen in Sulla's time.[39] The books gained such power over Roman life that they were placed under the direct control of the Senate (Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6) and

37. Carter, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f.
38. Terry, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8.
39. Carter, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 f.

were consulted by the priesthood only at the Senate's bidding. In 496 B.C., the oracles were called upon to overcome a crop failure. The Greek deities Demeter, Dionysos, and Kore were promptly introduced to supplement the personalities of the *Indigetes* fertility divinities, Ceres, Liber, and Liberia. Over the course of years prior to the collapse of the Republic, these divinities were followed by Mercury-Hermes, Neptune-Poseidon, Asklepios, Proserpina-Persephone, and (finally) the Phrygian *Magna Mater*—all upon Sibyl's invitation. It is important to note that the Sibylline collection was consulted in times of disaster and misfortune. Whatever measures it dictated were carried out with "trembling, anxious care,"[40] as during the panic roused by Hannibal's campaign in Northern Italy—a crisis which was alleviated by the calling (at Sibyl's bidding) of the Phrygian *Magna Mater*.[41] Thus, in one very significant respect, the oracles differed in their original design from the purpose to which they were put later by the Fathers. They were not so much predictions of woes to come, like apocalyptic tracts, as explanations of what was required to avert the anger of the gods. As Pliny puts it (*Historia Naturalis,* XI. 35), they were not *vaticinia* but *remedia Sibyllina.*

III

THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN SIBYL

The Roman collection of Sibylline Oracles perished in the burning of the Capitol in 82 B.C., but they had become too important for the purposes of religion to be lost and a commission of three men was dispatched to collect oracles from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor. A large number were gathered (including 1,000 lines from Erythrae),[42] from which a new collection of the *libri Sibyllini* was made. Explicit instructions were given that only genuine productions were to be admitted, but F. Kampers,[43] among other critics, has argued that the new harvest included some Jewish Alexandrian productions. At any rate, the forgeries increased to such an extent that in 13 B.C., as a part of his "religious" reform, Augustus commanded two thousand spurious volumes to be destroyed. With their increase in bulk, the credit of the oracles began to diminish. This trend, in addition to the fact that only

40. Moffatt, *op. cit.,* p. 477.
41. Carter, *op. cit.,* pp. 93 ff.
42. Charles, *op. cit.,* p. 370.
43. *Historische Zeitschrift* (1908), pp. 252 f.

the three Cumaean books were preserved in secrecy (Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6) led to the gradual diffusion of the genuine oracles and the increasing growth of forgeries.

Among the early creators of spurious *Sibyllina* were Alexandrian Jews who shared the general enthusiasm which arose at the beginning of the Maccabaean revolt. The authority of the ancient and revered Sibyl and the literary precision of the Sibylline hexameter were used (first) in a serious attempt to place Jewish intellectual achievements clearly before the world, (second) to give expression to the increasing influence of eschatological thought and (in this reference) to convey threats of doom against persecuting powers, especially Assyria and Rome, and (third) to propagate to this wider, Sibylline audience the rudiments of the Hebrew faith, especially her monotheism and moralism.

A cultivated Jew living in Egypt about the middle of the second century B.C. was probably responsible for the first Jewish oracles. To him we owe the greater part of the third book. It is clear that he did not simply invent Sibylline verses. Rather, he pieced together ancient oracles, adding passages of his own, which breathed strong monotheism and the glorification of the Jewish people.[44] In the middle of Book III, for example, there is a long section (ls. 97-294) derived primarily from the Erythraean Sibyl. The antiquity of this passage is attested by the fact that it is quoted by two writers of the first century B.C.—Alexander Polyhistor (cf. Eusebius, *H.E.*, I. 23, 24) and Abydenus (cf. Eusebius, *Praep.*, IX. 14. xvii). Within this generally Erythraean passage, there are lines from the Babylonian (97-104) and the Chaldaean Sibyl (218-30). Similarly, lines 381-87 have been assigned by Varro to the Persian Sibyl, and lines 414-30 by Pausanias and Varro to the Erythraean prophetess.

In addition to Jewish poems, there may also have been a Jewish Sibyl. Pausanias (X. 12) mentions "an oracular woman among the Hebrews, named Sabbe. . . . Some call her the Babylonian, others the Egyptian Sibyl." The unknown editor of the sixth century knew Sabbe as "Sambethe"—a "Chaldaean or Persian . . . belonging to the race of the most blessed Noah. . . ."[45] Varro (Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6) ascribes Book III, lines 381-87 to the Persian Sibyl, while the Scholion

44. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 370.
45. Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

on Plato, *Phaedrus*, 244, assigns the same passage to the Chaldaean prophetess. This seems to indicate an identification or, at least, a confusion of the two Sibyls. Moreover, Josephus (*Ant.*, I. 4) ascribes Book III, lines 97-104, generally believed to have been from the Babylonian Sibyl, to a Hebrew prophetess. Unfortunately, Lactantius (*D.I.*, I. 6) complicates matters by suggesting that the *Erythraean* Sibyl was born in Babylon. But Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.*, VI) speaks of the "prophetess of the Hebrews"; and, it seems, the tradition was widespread, although a certain confusion existed about her origin.

The basic theme of the Jewish oracles is monotheism. Using this criterion, the Sibyllists condemned idolatry, polytheism, the impotency of pagan divinities, and the worship of sacred animals. These denunciations were driven home by the promise of divine wrath and judgment; God himself was to be the judge (Bk. IV, ls. 41, 183).

In relation to cult practices, there are two traditions. One, apparently orthodox, takes animal sacrifices for granted (Fr. i, l. 21; Bk. III, ls. 576 ff.). The other, probably Essenic, repudiates sacrifices (Bk. IV. 28) and the visible Temple (Bk. IV, ls. 8, 28), and stresses grace before meals (Bk. IV, ls. 25f.) and lustrations (Bk. IV, l. 165).

The eschatology of the oracles (especially of Book III) is complex and somewhat bewildering. A dominant theme is the destruction of the world by fire, variously in the form of a rushing stream (Bk. II, l. 54) or an essence (Bk. III, l. 72) or as a sword (Bk. III, ls. 672,798; Bk. IV, l. 174). Darkness will cover the earth (Bk. V, l. 349), and the heavenly bodies will fall (Bk. III, l. 801; Bk. V, l. 346; Bk. III, l. 80; Bk. V, l. 158). Variously, the destruction will reach all men (Bk. III, ls. 84 ff.) or merely the ungodly (Bk. V, ls. 375-85). There are many signs of the end: a comet (Bk. III, l. 334), portraits in the clouds (Bk. III, l. 805; Bk. V, l. 212), distress among the nations (Bk. II, ls. 556 ff.; Bk. V, l. 525), Beliar's lying wonders (Bk. II, ls. 63 ff.), the return of Nero and the dominion of the world by a woman (Bk. III, ls. 75 ff.). A blessed kingdom will follow (Bk. III, ls. 767 ff.), under the rule of the Messiah (Bk. V, ls. 444 ff.; Bk. III, ls. 702 ff.). There will be great happiness and productivity on earth (Bk. III, ls. 702 ff., 741 ff., 777 ff., 785 ff.). Jerusalem and the temple will be exalted (Bk. V, ls. 420 ff.; Bk. III, ls. 657, 772).

The appropriation of the Jewish Sibylline Oracles by the Christian Church threw them out of favor with the leaders of Rabbinic Judaism and considerably dampened the vogue. Even Josephus only once refers

to the *Sibyllina (Ant.,* 1. 4—Bk. III, ls. 97 f.). The Church appropriated the Jewish collection, edited them in their own interests, composed fresh ones and, generally, treated the Jewish *Sibyllina* much as the Alexandrian Jews had treated the pagan oracles.[46]

There are actually two types of Christian Sibyl. The first was the "Sibyl" who wrote the Christian prophecies. The second was the "Sibyl" whom the Church Fathers quoted. Both differed in one very marked respect from the Hebrew prophetess, for the Christian Sibyl (in both of her aspects) did not claim to be particularly Hebraic, but explicitly pagan. The Jewish Sibyllinists were careful to construct a Hebrew prophetess, of Hebrew (or, at least, Babylonian) birth, the daughter-in-law of Moses (Bk. III, l. 827), who repudiates her sisters of Erythrae and Cumae. The Christian Sibyl would never have exclaimed:

> Mortals throughout Hellas will call me foreign, sprung from Erythrae and shameless; some will say I am the Sibyl whose mother was Circe and whose Father was Gnostos, a raving maniac. But when all things come to pass, then you will remember me, and none will then call me mad, but the prophetess of the mighty God (Bk. III, ls. 813-18).

The Christian Sibyllinists, on the contrary, took over the pagan Sibyl; the "mortals throughout Hellas" would not have called her foreign. The Christian prophetess does not repudiate her heritage—"sprung from Erythrae"—because this was precisely her appeal and (therefore) her Christian purpose. Using the witness of the prophetess in verification of the truth of the Gospel, Justin Martyr (*Cohort.* 16) concludes triumphantly: "Such are the words of the Sibyl!" And the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (v. 7, quoting Bk. IV, ls. 179-91) concludes: "If therefore this prophetess confesses the resurrection, and does not deny the restoration of all things, and distinguishes the godly from the ungodly, it is vain for them (the pagans) to deny our doctrine."

This, then, was an appeal to pagans, based on a theory of Divine inspiration working in the past outside Israel. It may well be—as Moffatt suggests[47]—"an outcome of the finer conception of the Logos, as held by the apologists." At any rate, there was every reason not to create a Christian prophetess. Therefore, the Sibyl, put forward as the authoress of the Christian oracles, is a voice rather than a figure. She

46. Moffatt, *op. cit.,* p. 478.
47. *Ibid.,* p. 480.

does not project herself in her oracles; she is not even named in Book VI and appears in Book VII (195-210) only to confess her pagan sins and to hope for Christian deliverance. Similarly, the Sibyl whom the Fathers quote is professedly, if not always truthfully, the pagan prophetess. How very often Lactantius makes this claim (*De Ira Dei,* XXII. 7; *D.I.,* VII. 199; VII. 20. 1; VII. 24; etc.). Even Augustine (*City of God,* XVIII. 23) and Constantine (*Oratio,* XVIII) ascribe the authorship of the obvious Christian acrostic of Book VIII to the Erythraean Sibyl. Moreover, her traits are precisely those of the pagan prophetess. She is old and preaches under "a powerful inspiration" (Justin Martyr, *Cohort.,* 37). According to Lactantius (*D.I.,* I. 6. 9), even Homer borrowed her thoughts. And she spoke in hexameters.

IV

USE OF THE SIBYL AND THE SIBYLLINA BY THE FATHERS

Hermas deserves immediate attention, since this tractate contains the major exception to the theory which has just been outlined. In Vision II. 4, the hero receives a book of revelations from an old woman whom he assumes to be the Sibyl. More striking, the incident takes place at Cumae, if εἰς κώμας is altered to εἰς κούμας, or (as does Lake)[48] if κώμας is rendered "Cumae." But the hero is told in a vision that she is not Sibyl but the Church; the Church too is very old, because "she was created the first of all things" (II. 4. 1).

Many of the early Fathers (and especially the Apologists) use Sibyl as verification of the truths of the Gospel. None of those who mention or quote her for this purpose feel the slightest need for defending this technique. Justin Martyr (*Exhort.,* 37) declares that Sibyl's teaching is "closely akin to the doctrine of the prophets." He also uses the oracles as valid prophecies for the destruction by fire. Drawing from Book IV (193 f.), he writes (*I Apol.,* XX) that "the Sibyl and Hystaspes certify that corruptible things are to be dissolved by fire." Another echo of this oracle is to be heard in the fifth or sixth century composition, *Questiones et responsa ad orthodoxos* (74): "the end of the present order of things is the judgment of the impious by fire, as the Scriptures of the prophets and the apostles declare, as well as those of the Sibyl." From such forthright statements of the validity of the *Sibyllina* as pre-

48. K. Lake, *Apostolic Fathers,* II (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), 17n.

Christian witnesses to the truth of Christian prophecy, the famous medieval hymn drew its inspiration for the lines:

"Dies irae, dies illa
Soluet saeclum in fauilla
Teste Dauid cum Sibylla."

Clement of Alexandria follows the same method. Arguing that the Greeks had some knowledge of the true God (*Strom.,* VI. 5), he suggests that St. Paul advocated the reading of the oracles. *Apostolic Constitutions* (V. 7) uses Book IV (ls. 179-91) to support the doctrine of the resurrection. Theophilus and Lactantius, as we have seen, use the prophecies virtually as Scripture, and often quite apart from any more fundamental biblical source. Beyond their general apologetic value, Lactantius found the oracles useful in supplying an almost unlimited number of passages on the wrath of God, which was his favored theme, and with little imagination, he transformed the already weird eschatology of the prophecies into an exaggerated chiliasm, casting it before the generation of persecuted and persecutors in whose time he lived.

The one reference to Sibyl in Arnobius (*Adv. Gentes,* I. 62) is somewhat puzzling: "If the Sibyl, when she was uttering her prophecies and oracular responses, and was filled with Apollo's power, had been cut down and slain by impious robbers, would Apollo have been slain in her?" Arguing from the context, Neale[49] takes this to be Arnobius' derision against the heathen "for affirming it to have been by the inspiration of Apollo that the Sibyl uttered so much truth."

Some of the Fathers make little and guarded use of the oracles or no use whatever. Irenaeus and Cyprian do not even mention the name. Hippolytus makes two unimportant allusions (*Philos.,* V. 16—Fr. iii, 1-2 and *De Christo* lii—Bk. V, 222). In his *Legatio* (xxx), Athenagoras quotes four lines (Bk. III, 108-13) to show that some are called gods by the people "on the ground of their rule and sovereignty. . . ." Tertullian (*Ad Nationes,* II. 12) describes the Oracles as "those testimonies of Divine literature to which so much faith is due on account of their age," being "before literature existed at all"; but he makes only one other, unimportant allusion (*De Pallio.,* 2). Celsus (*Ap. Orig.,* V. 4) ridicules the frequent use of Sibyl in Christian writers—a charge which Origen notices (*contra Celsum,* VI. lxi) but makes no attempt to deny or ex-

49. J. M. Neale, *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History* (London, 1867), p. 314.

plain. Celsus charged further (according to Origen, *contra Celsum,* VII. liii) that the Christians even dared to interpolate these ancient sources with impious lines of their own. Cyril of Jerusalem opposes one Sibylline passage to Julian (*Contr. Julian,* I. 32), likely taken from Constantine's *Oratio* as reported by Eusebius.

Cicero (*Ad Div.,* II. 54), in his study of the Sibylline acrostic, throws some suspicion on the genuineness of the oracles. Gregory of Nazianzen (*Orat.,* XXVI. 19) expressed the opinion that Sibyl purloined material from a few too many sources. In his *Oratio* (XVIII), Constantine notes that "many people are skeptical" of Sibyl; they "suspect that it was someone belonging to our religion, not acquainted with the art of poetry, who composed these lines; they think they are a forgery." But, Constantine insists "obviously a divine impulse inspired the maiden to foretell this (acrostic). For my part, I consider her blessed who was thus chosen by the Saviour to be a prophetess of his gracious thought for us." Augustine is aware of the prejudice against the *Sibyllina;* but he reproduces the acrostic in his *City of God* (XVIII. 23), representing it as a genuine prophecy of Christ from the Erythraean Sibyl, and, with Job (XVIII. 47), he places Sibyl among the pre-Christian personalities who have membership in the eternal city. It is quite possible that the Church was unwilling to give up this passage because of the widespread pagan tradition (reported by Varro, who is quoted by Dionysius Halicarnasseus, *Antiq. Rom.,* IV. 62) that the Sibyl wrote in acrostic form. By keeping this passage, the Church thus gave an air of authenticity to the Christian *Sibyllina.*

APPENDIX I

LINE BY LINE EXAMINATION OF THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES SHOWING QUOTATIONS, CITATIONS, AND ALLUSIONS MADE BY THE FATHERS[50]

Introductory Fragments or Proem

i

The whole fragment is cited by Theophilus, *To Autolychus,* II. 36
1 cited by Clem. Alex., *Strom.,* iii. 3.14
5-6 " " Lactantius, *D.I.,* IV. 6.5

50. This list does not include references to Sibyl made apart from some actual quotation or allusion. Unless noted to the contrary, the numbering of the lines of the Oracles is that followed by R. H. Charles.

7-9 " " Justin Martyr, *Coh. ad. Graec.*, 16
13-16 " " Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v. 14
" " Eusebius, *Praep.*, XIII. 13
18-19 " " Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6
28-35 " " Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, VIII. 37
28 " " Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v. 14.116

ii

The whole fragment is cited by Theophilus, *To Autolychus*, II. 3.2

iii

The whole fragment is cited by Theophilus, *To Autolychus*, II. 36.29
1-2 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 8.3
" " Hippolytus, *Philos.*, v. 16
" " Hippolytus, *Refutation*, v. 11
alluded to by Justin Martyr, *Cohort.*, 23.6
3-6 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6
16-19 " " Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, XXII. 7 (as from Erythraean Sibyl)
46-48 " " Lactantius, *D.I.*, II. 13

Book One (Numbers by M.S. Terry)
49-51 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, II. 13
364 alluded to by Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 14
399 " " " Justin Martyr, *I Apol.*, 61 ("illumination"—baptism)
414-20 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, IV. 15

Book Two (Numbers by M.S. Terry)
308-10 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 21

Book Three
97-107 cited by Theophilus, *To Autol.*, II. 31
97-294 a long section from the Erythraean Sibyl beginning with twelve lines adapted from the Babylonian Sibyl. Quoted or alluded to by:
Eusebius, *H.E.*, I. 2. 20-24
Eusebius, *Praep.*, IX. 14.17
Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6
102 alluded to (?) by Epihanius, *Adv. Haer.*, i. 1. 5 ("wind")
108 cited by Athenagoras, *Legatio*, XXX
" " Tertullian, *ad Nationes*, II. 12
114 ff. alluded to by Epiph., *Ancoratus*, CXIV (Noah dividing world)
350-63 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 15
363 alluded to by Tertullian, *de Pallio*, 2
" " " Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 25
414 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6: cites Apollodorus that the Erythraean Sibyl was his own country-woman and that she foretold the destruction of Ilium.

419 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 6. 9 (that Homer borrowed from Sibyl)
545, 547-49 quoted by Lactantius, *D.I.*, I. 15.15
586-94 cited by Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, VI
618 quoted by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 19.9 (as from Erythraean Sibyl)
620-23 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 24
625-26 " " Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, VII. 26.4
648 alluded to by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 26.4
673 " " " " *D.I.*, VII. 19.5
721-23 cited by Justin Martyr, *Cohort.*, 16
741-43 quoted by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 20.1 (from Erythraean Sibyl)
765-66 cited by Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, XXII
775 " " " *D.I.*, IV. 6.5
788-95 " " " *D.I.*, VII. 24 (as from Erythraean Sibyl)
809-18 " " " *D.I.*, I. 6
816-18 " " " *D.I.*, IV. 15

Book Four

4-7 quoted by Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, IV. 50
24-30 " " Justin Martyr, *Cohort.*, 16
28-30 " " Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, IV. 62
33-34 cited by Clem. Alex., *Paed.*, II. 10
40-46 cited with alterations by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 23
51-52 cited by Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, XXIII
158-61 quoted by Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, XXIII. 5
160 f. cited by Justin Martyr, *I Apol.*, XX
179-91 quoted by *Apol. Const.*, *Bk.* V. 7

Book Five

6 cited by Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, X. 96
54 ff. alluded to by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 15
107-10 quoted by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 18.5
158 ff. alluded to by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 18.5
222 " " " Hippolytus, *de Christo*, lii
252 quoted by Lactantius, *D.I.*, IV. 20
296-97 cited by Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, IV
358-60 quoted by Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, XXIII. 8
363 ff. alluded to by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 24. 6
420-21 quoted by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 24. 6
484-503 quoted with alterations by Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, IV. 50
512-30 alluded to (?) by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 16

Book Six (Numbers according to M.S. Terry)

10 cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, IV. 13
15-19 " " " *D.I.*, IV. 15
27-31 " " " *D.I.*, IV. 18

Book Seven (Numbers according to M.S. Terry)

163	cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 16

Book Eight (Numbers according to M.S. Terry)

1-4	cited by Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, XXIII
58-59	" " " *D.I.*, I. 11
237	alluded to (?) by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 16
266	cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 16
268-309	quoted by Eusebius, *Constantine's Oration*, XVIII
	quoted by Augustine, *City of God*, XVIII. 23
275-76	cited by Lactantius, *D.I.*, VII. 19
294-95	" " " *D.I.*, VII. 16
297-99	" " " *D.I.*, VII. 20
318-20	" " " *D.I.*, IV. 16
357-61, 363-67	" " " *D.I.*, IV. 18
382-83	" " " *D.I.*, IV. 19
390-93	" " " *D.I.*, IV. 19
407-09	" " " *D.I.*, VII. 18
473	" " " *D.I.*, I. 6
518-23	" " " *D.I.*, VII. 20

APPENDIX II

LOCATIONS OF SIBYLLINE QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS IN PATRISTIC WRITINGS[51]

PATRISTIC WRITING	SIBYLLINE ORACLE	REFERENCE—PAGE
Apostolical Constitutions		*ANCL*, Vol. XVII
Bk. V. 7	IV, 179-91	quotation, p. 123 f.
Athenagoras		*ANCL*, Vol. II
Legatio, XXX	III. 108-13	quotation, p. 414
Augustine		*Random House*
City of God, XVIII. 3	VIII*. 268-309	quotation, Vol. II, pp. 426 f.

51. If marked thus (*), the numbering of the lines of the Oracles is that followed by M. S. Terry. In all other cases, the numbering is according to R. H. Charles. Roman numerals indicate the Books; Roman numerals in lower case indicate the Fragments. The texts of the Fathers have been noted separately, at the beginning of each division, by the following abbreviations: *ANCL—Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (Edinburgh), *N & P-N—Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York), *ANF—Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York), and *T. B. Falls (Writings of St. Justin Martyr*, New York, 1948).

PATRISTIC WRITING	SIBYLLINE ORACLE	REFERENCE—PAGE
Clement of Alexandria		*ANCL*, Vol. XII
Strom., III. 3. 14	i. 1	quotation, p. 90
V. 14	i. 13-16	" p. 285
V. 14. 116	i. 28	" p. 228
Clement of Alexandria		*ANCL*, Vol. IV
Protrept., IV. 50	IV. 4-7	quotation, p. 55 (1)
IV. 50	V. 296-97	" p. 55 (2)
IV. 50	V. 484-503	" p. 55 (3)
IV. 62	IV. 28-30	" p. 64
VI.	III. 586-94	" p. 72
VII. 74	III. 625-26	quoted at Orphic Wisdom, p. 74
VIII.	i. 28-35	quotation, p. 76
X. 96	V. 6	" p. 90
Paed., II. 10	IV. 33-34	" p. 252
Epiphanius		
Adv. Haer., i. I. 5	III. 102	allusion: stress on the "wind"—not in *Genesis*
Ancoratus, CXIV	III. 114 f.	Noah dividing the world among his sons.
Eusebius		*N&P-N*, Vol. I
H.E., I. 2. 20-24	III. 97-294	allusion, pp. 84 f.
Oration of Constantine, XVIII	I*. 283-333	" p. 574
XVIII	VIII*. 296-309	quotation, p. 574
(*Praep. Evang.*, IX. 14. XVII	III. 97-294	allusion
XIII. 13	i. 13-16	quotation)
Hippolytus		*ANF*, Vol. V
Refutation, V. 11	iii. 1-2	allusion, p. 164
Philos., IV. 6		
de Christo et Anti-Christo, 52	V. 222	allusion, p. 215
Justin Martyr		*T.B.Falls*
I Apology, XX	IV. 160 ff.	allusion, p. 55
LXI	I. 399	allusion to "illumination" in baptism, p. 100
Coh. ad. Graec., 16	i. 7-9	quotation, p. 394 (1)
16	III. 721-23	" p. 394 (2)
16	IV. 24-30	" p. 394 (3)
23.6	iii. 1-2	allusion, p. 401
Lactantius		*ANCL*, Vol. XXII
De Ira Dei, XXII.	iii. 16-19	quotation, p. 44 (1)
XXII.	III. 763-66	" p. 44 (2)
XXIII.	VIII*. 1-4	" p. 44
XXIII.	IV. 51-52	" p. 45 (1)

PATRISTIC WRITING	SIBYLLINE ORACLE	REFERENCE—PAGE
Lactantius		*ANCL*, Vol. XXII
De Ira Dei, XXIII. 5	IV. 159-61	quotation, p. 45 (2)
XXIII. 8	V. 358-60	" p. 45 (3)
De morte Pers., II. 8	V. 363 ff.	" p. 166
		ANCL, Vol. XXI
Institutes I. 6	III. 809-18	allusion, p. 17
I. 6	I. 16-17	quotation, p. 18 (1)
I. 6	iii. 3-6	" p. 18 (2)
I. 6	VIII*. 473	" p. 18 (4)
I. 8.3	iii. 1-2	allusion, p. 21
I. 11	VIII*. 58-59	quotation, p. 32
I. 14	I*. 364	allusion, p. 40
I. 15	III. 545; 547-49	quotation, p. 42
II. 13	iii. 46-48	" p. 123
II. 13	I*. 49-51	" pp. 123 f.
IV. 6	i. 5-6	" p. 221 (1)
IV. 6	III. 775	" p. 221 (2)
IV. 13	VI*. 10	" p. 240
IV. 15	I*. 414-20	" p. 245
IV. 15	I*. 418-20	" p. 246
IV. 15	VI*. 16-19	" p. 247
IV. 15	III. 816-18	" p. 248
IV. 16	VIII*. 318-20	" p. 251
IV. 18	VIII*. 357-61; 363-67	" p. 258 (1)
IV. 18	VI*. 27-31	" p. 258 (2)
IV. 19	VIII*. 382-83; 390-93	" p. 262
IV. 20	V. 252	" p. 264
VII. 15	V. 54 ff.	allusion, p. 464
VII. 15	V. 158 ff.	" p. 465
VII. 15	III. 350-63	" p. 465
VII. 16	V. 512-30	" p. 466
VII. 16	VII*. 163	quotation, p. 467
VII. 16	VIII*. 237	allusion, p. 466
VII. 16	VIII*. 266	" p. 466
VII. 16	VIII*. 294-95	quotation, p. 466
VII. 18	V. 107-10	" p. 469 (1)
VII. 18	VIII*. 407-09	" p. 469 (3)
VII. 19.5	III. 673	" p. 470
VII. 19	VIII*. 275-76	" p. 471 (1)
VII. 19.9	III. 618	" p. 471 (2)
VII. 20	III. 741-43	" p. 471 (1)
VII. 20	VIII*. 279-99	" p. 471 (2)
VII. 20	VIII*. 518-23	" p. 471 (3)
VII. 23	IV. 40-46	" p. 477

PATRISTIC WRITING	SIBYLLINE ORACLE	REFERENCE—PAGE
Lactantius		*ANCL*, Vol. xxi
Institutes, VII. 24	III. 788-95	" p. 480 (1)
VII. 24	III. 620-23	" p. 480 (2)
VII. 24.6	V. 420-21	" p. 478
VII. 25	III. 363	allusion, p. 481
VII. 26.4	III. 648	" p. 482
Tertullian		*ANCL*, Vol. xi
Ad Nationes, II. 12	III. 108	quotation, p. 494
Tertullian		*ANCL*, Vol. xviii
De Pallio, 2	III. 363	allusion, p. 184
Theophilus		*ANCL*, Vol. iii
To Autolychus, II. 3.2	ii. 1-3	quotation, p. 66
II. 31	III. 97-107	" p. 96
II. 36	i. 1-35	" p. 102
II. 36.29	iii. 1-48	" p. 103

BUREAUCRACY AND THE LIBERAL CHURCH

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BUREAUCRACY IS, understandably, a favorite subject of students of modern social life. For it is part and parcel of enormous changes in modern Western society: it is closely interrelated with revolutionary technological developments, with large-scale alterations in the systems of social class, with unprecedented urbanization. Together these represent a shift in the structure of modern society which manifests itself, on one level, in the increased *anomie* or *malaise* or disenchantment of the individual. On another level, this structural change is seen in the problems faced by organizations seeking to promote or expand interests defined as sacred. To consider these latter problems as primarily or peculiarly the consequence of bureaucracy's thrust into religious organization is possibly misleading. But it may be that our understanding of the greater changes, the larger context of man's accomplishments and tribulations, is enhanced by exploring the particular impact of bureaucracy.

BUREAUCRACY'S IMPACT AND CHARACTERISTICS

The last century represents the full-blown development of a new kind of social order in the Western world. The principal characteristics of this order cannot be missed: multi-group, multi-interest, and multi-moral; complexity and massiveness of institutional organization; a seeming separation and segmentation of different spheres of human activity—the market place, the political area, the isolated conjugal family, specialized recreation and education, specialized and separated religious worship. These are traits of what sociologists call the complex associational society—a loosely integrated system so vastly different from its feudalistic parent and so vastly more desirable, it would seem, than its historical child, totalitarian society. And it is the social order within which the Protestant denominational church, including its "liberal" affiliates, has struggled to exist, has flourished here and there, and has confronted—within its own organization and without—the most grave problems that such an order can bring into being.

This modern associational society has nourished bureaucracy as has no western historical predecessor. Never, in our culture, has there been

the encouragement—the demand, in fact—for the rise of such highly rationalized, hierarchized systems of organization and control of human activity. Never has there been the multiplicity of large-scale associations within which bureaucracy has grown and strengthened and spread into almost every division of organizational structure. And never have organizations concerned with the promotion of spontaneous and informal activity, with humanly warm and brotherly and democratic values, so faced the formal and routinized and impersonal demands of bureaucratic procedure. If carefully defined goals, precise definitions of office, expertness of personnel and interchangeability of depersonalized personnel, standardized procedure and "red tape"—if these marks of bureaucracy are conspicuous in government and business and military organization, they are likewise rapidly coloring the organizational make-up of labor unions, educational institutions, and scientific enterprise. Nor do the less businesslike, the less instrumental, the more spontaneous areas escape. For bureaucracy pushes into organized social welfare, into the fields of sport and play, into higher learning, and, though with some difficulties, into the liberal church also.

This widespread flowering of bureaucracy has understandably captured the interest of a number of scholars of our day. Max Weber is the outstanding student of bureaucracy's design, and his writings accurately specify many of its traits and effects. It has been said that if the class changes in Western society produced a Marxist interpretation of those changes, bureaucracy's coming-of-age brought forth a Weberian analysis of that trend.[1] More recently, a number of social scientists, stimulated by Weber's penetrating writings, have furnished us with excellent studies of the causes and consequences of various bureaucratic structures: in business, government, army and navy, in college and university life.[2] It is interesting and perhaps symptomatic of certain traits peculiar to the liberal church (though not the authoritarian church) that studies of this kind have not followed bureaucracy's stubborn march into this sacred area. In this paper, that march will be followed a short distance, and account will also be taken of certain fea-

1. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, "Introduction," *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946). See ch. VIII of this volume for Weber's treatment of bureaucracy.

2. See, for example, R. K. Merton, "Role of the Intellectual in Public Bureaucracy," ch. VI in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949); C. H. Page, "Bureaucracy's Other Face," *Social Forces*, XXV (1946), 88-94.

tures of the church that make the march a somewhat hazardous journey for bureaucracy, as well as an upsetting event for the church itself.

First, however, some of the broader aspects of bureaucratization must be briefly noted. Four of these are of particular concern to leaders and participants in church activities. To begin with, *full-scale* bureaucracy implies *standardization*. In the statistically-calculating, specialistic, expert-inhabited modern world, there are strong pressures on almost all organizations to standardize all along the line. These pressures are felt by the liberal church no less than by the school and the welfare agency. And the demand is for more than the standardization of tools and machinery, for rationalized organization requires the standardization of administrative techniques, of human operations, of human beings. A bureaucratic system, wherever found, is one which must be able to function whoever mans the offices, the jobs. Like the machine itself, its parts must be cut to a pattern. And spare parts must be at hand when needed, whether the standardized human cogs are top-level staff administrators or line operatives, as in industry; whether classified as Professional Specialist or Clerical Assistant, as in government; whether rated as Aviation Mechanic's Mate Second Class in the Navy Air Force or a good relief pitcher in baseball; whether tabbed a small-town clergyman who can tend a semi-rural flock or a top-flight leader for a metropolitan parish.

Second, bureaucracies are *self-perpetuating*. Standardization lends itself to this impersonal immortality, a quality once possessed only by the mother church and the political state, and later gained by the economic corporation. But all large associations today that take on the bureaucratic stamp elaborate a system of ranked offices and defined roles, and the system tends to persist whatever the changes in personnel. Moreover, bureaucratic self-perpetuation carries with it a strong internal conservatism, a structural rigidity. The traditional methods of procedure, in principle merely means of attaining further goals, take on end value. The methods themselves, in some respects, become sacrosanct for the ritualists and routineers, for the inevitable "bureaucratic virtuosos," who man bureaucracy's posts and carry out their duties with that "trained incapacity" of which Veblen wrote.[3]

It follows, in the third place, that bureaucracy implies diminution of

3. Cf. R. K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," ch. v in *Social Theory and Social Structure*.

spontaneity. The whole structure of modern associational society, with its loss of close ties to intimate groups and its "atomization" of the individual, restricts spontaneous human action. But bureaucracy is particularly well designed to speed this process, for no other organizational system so successfully discourages face-to-face informal co-operation and conflict, and individualistic camaraderie, inventiveness (even "ideas" must be placed in the right boxes). The rational plan of bureaucracy leaves little room for the warm attachments of man to man, the non-rational fellowships and loves (and hates), the eager and immediate sharing of common values, sacred or secular. The protection and promotion of these values and sentiments are among the chief interests of the liberal church; and one of its concerns must be the relationship between its organizational structure and the realization of these interests.

Finally, many bureaucratized systems are organized to serve, in one way or another, some special "client-public." The large welfare agencies refer to the recipients of their services as "cases," the client-counterpart of the farmer or businessman who is serviced by governmental agencies; the policy-makers of "big business" and "big labor" are serviced by their respective staffs of experts; student groups receive another kind of service from teachers and school administrators; and the members of the local church are, in some measure, likewise a client-public. This obvious point would scarcely require mention were it not for the nature of the relationship that so frequently develops between bureaucratic officeholders and their clients. For, as the bureaucrat becomes expert in the skills of his office and takes on the "bureaucratic viewpoint," he is apt to develop antipathy toward his inexpert clients. Such attitudes are not sanctioned by the official policies of bureaucratic organizations, and never, of course, by those of the welfare agency, school, or church. Many organizations loudly proclaim not only their ultimate but day-to-day responsibility to those they serve, and some agencies carefully train their personnel to avoid any open display of impatience with the inexpert outsider. But this very training is evidence of the continual strain faced by the office holder to show good face before the members of the client-public. That such strain is found, from time to time, among church leaders themselves is borne out by their own testimony; and, as will be shown later, not only constitutes one of the problems of the

liberal church but is brought about, in part at least, by the inroad of bureaucracy in this province of good works.

These characteristics of bureaucracy—standardization, self-perpetuation, over-formalism, and antipathy for the client—reach their fullest development in associations of a certain type; in others they may be found in only embryonic form. In the first class must be placed the grand-scale agencies organized to forward what certain writers have designated *civilizational* interests.[4] These interests are predominantly instrumental: they are sought that men may realize further goals, or are pursued in order to establish material and social conditions within which the culturally defined "good life" may be led. This is the area in which the *secular* overshadows the *sacred;* in which those imposing institutions of technological, economic, and political design have mushroomed to huge bureaucratic proportions in recent times. Here bureaucracy is an apparatus functionally especially appropriate for the achievement of civilizational tasks: to produce economic goods and services, to run a complex fiscal system, to manufacture (though not invent) atomic weapons, to conduct international trade—or international struggle,—to man the garrison state. There are some dissenters as to the *human* appropriateness of bureaucracy in even these spheres, particularly among the decentralists such as Huxley and Mumford and Bertrand Russell, but the dissent is on other than civilizational, i.e., instrumental, grounds.

This dissent, it should be stressed, is rooted in the second great class of interests, the *cultural:* end or terminal values that define things as good (or bad) in themselves. While cultural interests are often found in the large civilizational agencies, most apparently in the case of the political state, in this area they are discouraged and, indeed, held in abeyance by bureaucracy itself. But in other organizations—educational, professional, scientific, recreational—the end values of culture are very much in the picture: they cannot be wholly overlooked for the sake of smooth operation and efficiency. Here the sacred, i.e., the culturally defined good, whether in the school or scholarly group or recreational organization, strives for at least equal status with the secular or instrumental. This is an important reason why bureaucracy, as a system of

4. For example: Alfred Weber, R. K. Merton, R. M. MacIver. For the distinction between "civilization" and "culture" used herein, see R. M. MacIver and C. H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis* (New York, 1949), ch. xxi.

administrative control and procedure, is rarely as efficient, is rarely as fully grown, in the cultural organizations. And here, also, is an important reason why the "threat of bureaucracy" is a source of serious concern for those hard bent on making possible the realization of cultural interests. Both bureaucracy's inefficiency and its menace of efficiency and order are nowhere more apparent than in the cultural association of the non-authoritarian church.

THE CHURCH AS A CULTURAL ASSOCIATION

The distinction between civilization and culture, between means and ends, may seem to ignore or to blur the inevitable causal linkage between the two, between goals and instrumental methods. This linkage is, to be sure, an ever-present feature of social life, of the historical process, of human organization. But without some such distinction (whatever wording is used), many major problems of sociological and historical analysis would be beyond our grasp. This is the case in the present context. For upon those associations primarily concerned with the realization of cultural interests are imposed definite organizational requirements. A group organized to permit or to encourage its members to pursue cultural goals—whether knowledge for its own sake or simple fellowship or sexual love or mystical experience or communion with supernatural forces or humanitarian ideals—such a group must, if it is to realize in any full measure its raison d'être, reckon with two important principles. In the first place, the mode of participation for the membership is crucial. The cultural association, if it remains predominantly *cultural,* "is either itself a primary group or else a union of primary groups linked together by a central organization."[5] The informal group of friends, the intimate club, the play group, the family are clearly cultural units (though they may have civilizational functions as well); in these examples there are no serious problems involving the clash of organization and the fulfillment of cultural interest. But, in the professional society or the welfare agency or the church, such problems do arise, especially if the intimate, face-to-face nuclear group is weakened or forgotten; for in the primary group focus the cultural organization "draws not only its vitality but also its meaning." "The end is achieved, at least in part, in the *process* of meeting with others,"

5. MacIver and Page, *op. cit.,* p. 485.

while, in the utilitarian or civilizational association, "it is the *product* that is directly significant."[6]

A second organizational requirement for the attainment of cultural interests involves the relations between groups and the political environment surrounding them, as well as their internal structures. This requirement may be stated simply as the liberty of alternatives, expressed, on the one hand, in the individual's freedom to elect and to follow those interests he finds significant and satisfying, and, on the other hand, in the organization's freedom to exist side-by-side with groups professing quite contrasting or even opposing doctrines. In the complex associational society, the liberty of alternatives is not functionally appropriate or practicable and can have but a narrow range in the utilitarian realm of civilization—hence the all-importance of the criterion of efficiency in the technological field and its large significance in matters economic and political. In these areas system is king. But in the "freer realm of culture" there need not be—indeed there must not be, if cultural interests are to flourish—singleness of system, merely utilitarian rationality, uniformity. For, in the cultural area, it may be said, pluralism is king.[7] All such activities must be expressed at the primary group level if the expression is to be meaningful; and the liberty of alternatives must reign within and between the groups themselves if they are to forward man's cultural ends.

But surely, it may be contended, the large-scale religious organization faces the necessity of systematic organization. The church itself must take on some of the trappings of the civilizational realm if it is to survive in our streamlined age. In the face of this necessity, it may be asked, cannot the liberal church itself guarantee and safeguard those requirements for the cultural and sacred attainments it holds dear? For any member of a "liberal" church the answer must be in the affirmative, of course. However, there are certain grave difficulties here.

These difficulties may be attributed in part—there are other factors, to be sure—to the evident need for organization. That the church must build and run itself in a more or less "businesslike" manner is a lesson all ministers must learn—and practice, in some measure. But this efficient building and managing sometimes tries their souls.

6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 485-87.

PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Before specifying some types of problems confronted by the *liberal* church, it should be emphasized that *all* religious groups in Western society, though in varying degrees, cope with situations brought about by contradictions or inconsistencies between organizational practices and professed aims. All churches, in other words, reveal some signs of non-integration or weak integration (though not necessarily disintegration). This condition is signalized by those "dilemmas" that frequently plague the practitioners, professional and lay, of organized faiths. There is, for example, the familiar contrast between the efficiency and full participation of small minorities (the "busy-bodies" of church life) versus the apathy and minimum participation of large majorities. This contrast is a striking feature of most voluntary associations in modern society: labor unions, political parties, professional societies, as well as many churches. There is, again, the contrast between formalism and patterned ritualism and the spontaneous and humanly warmer activity so urgently needed by most inhabitants of our rapidly cooling social world. There is the clash between the studied rationalistic approach to questions of societal and even supernaturalistic concern and the non-rational, non-empiric approach on the level of human sentiments. Sentiment, it need hardly be said, is always necessary to sustain cultural interest of any sort, including, certainly, the religious. There are other contrasts and conflicts, and these together form a part of the battle-ground of controversy within and between the churches.

But the strategies of attack and defense and the tactical weapons employed vary greatly from church to church and from faith to faith. These variations include differences in organizational principles and methods, differences, in fact, in the degree and kind of bureaucratic structure. Useful here are the familiar distinctions between the international church or *ecclesia,* the national church, the denomination, the sect, and the cult.[8] It is apparent that this listing involves a gradient order of bureaucratic development, from most to least.

The international Roman Catholic Church, at the one extreme, is highly bureaucratized, so much so to be the envy of certain governmental and business exponents of efficiency. This great organization both suffers the consequences of all close-knit bureaucracies—conserva-

8. Cf. L. von Wiese and H. Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (New York, 1932), pp. 624-28.

tism, formalism, ritualism, etc.—and enjoys their advantages—order, predictable action, dispatch of business (even when the "business" is soul-saving). Yet the Catholic arsenal of weapons contains more than an elaborate bureaucracy, as its extraordinary adaptability and appeal make evident. It has, of course, its psychologically needed confessional and its authoritarian-based ideology with answers to all questions. But it also has and shrewdly employs its non-expert parish priests who (like their political counterparts, the precinct captains of another type of machine) not only work at the grass-roots but are, in most respects, indistinguishable from the clients whom they serve. Here is a case of organizational adaptation at its realistic best. The gains are warmth and intimacy and minimum antipathy at the primary group level; the important loss is the liberty of alternatives which religious culture so dearly needs.

At the other extreme stand the sect and the cult. The latter, exemplified by certain forms of mysticism and fetishism, has no *official* membership and no organizational structure and, therefore, need not concern us here. But the sects are a different matter, for these increasingly numerous groups, many of which have shown a remarkable growth in recent decades, also have some organizational lessons to teach. The sects forego formalistic organization almost entirely and reveal few, if any, signs of bureaucracy. (Jehovah's Witnesses may be an exception, though this is not clear.[9]) Rather they rely on "holiness" doctrine, non-rational charismatic leadership, and unplanned ceremonials of maximum expressive participation. That they attract primarily groups economically and socially discriminated against, in both rural and urban areas, is understandable in view of the easy literalness of their scriptural doctrines, their enhancement of modest virtues readily attained by the enforced non-ostentation of the underprivileged, the class vengeance implied in the millennia claims, the leadership by semi-literate "folks like themselves," and, above all, the double-barrelled appeal to and provision for the needs for brotherhood and for selfhood so evident in sect activities. However one may deplore orgiastic demonstrations, sexual release in the church, snake-handling, and so on, recognition must be made of the meaningfulness to its

9. See H. H. Stroup, *Jehovah's Witnesses* (New York, 1945), esp. ch. II. For the "Holiness Sects" in general, see C. S. Braden, "The Sects," The *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 256 (Mar. 1948).

members of this religious movement, of its spontaneity and active participation. The turnover of membership is very high generally in the sects, except for those that achieve denominational status, "move uptown," and lose their lower-class roots. Rapid change of membership is, no doubt, in part a reflection of the spontaneous elements of sect religion as well as an inevitable consequence of the absence of systematic organization.

When we turn to the religious groups between the two extremes of international *ecclesia* and local sect we find fairly well-developed organization. In this middle range are such national churches as the Anglican and Lutheran varieties, the Reform and Conservative Synagogues, and the several denominations of the Protestant church, including the "liberal" type. The middle position of the liberal church, in terms of degree of bureaucratic content, is not so much a matter of deliberate choice and compromise as a result of the pressure of historical circumstances. Nevertheless, the situation itself presents its own problems.

A proper consideration of the problems and strains, the weaknesses and the accomplishments, of any religious group, Holiness Sect or Roman Catholic or liberal Protestant, should take into account the aims of the organization. Sometimes these are difficult to ascertain, as in the case of certain of the sects; and sometimes the professed aims may not include equally important but unstated goals. The latter situation holds for many associations, for example the D. A. R. and the American Legion, and, indeed, it may hold for the liberal church. Thus one unavowed and usually disavowed purpose of the denominational church is to hold intact, at times seemingly at any cost, the organization itself. This interest is consistent with, in fact is partly the unanticipated consequence of, the presence of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy. And bureaucracy, it has been noted, exerts other pressures. These may directly or indirectly affect the ends guiding the church's action; they may, for example, introduce within the church an inescapable trend toward conservatism. This tantalizing area for sociological investigation is too large a problem to pursue here.

The recognizable aims of the liberal church include the realization of the common brotherhood of man; the achievement of a sense of social and individual moral responsibility; the introduction of the ethical and moral precepts of the Judaic-Christian and other religious tradi-

tions into the day-to-day activities of people—whether in economic, political, familial, or intellectual affairs; the insistence, in other words, that any total separation of the sacred and secular is intolerable; and the activization of the membership in these respects. There are other aims, of course, stated in the language of theology and focused upon supernatural matters. But it may be claimed that the liberal church more and more voices a humanistic creed, a creed shared by many of the churchless. The success or failure of the advancement of this creed and of the other values of the church is difficult, if not impossible, to calculate, resting as it does on the delicate interaction of many forces and many factors. Some of these no doubt lie wholly outside the area of possible action by the church. However, the attainment of the humanistic and activistic goals, in some degree, is both hampered and enhanced by the organizational means at the disposal of organized religion today.

One of these means is *specialization,* and here, once more, bureaucracy enters the scene. The church can divide and subdivide its activities, corresponding more or less to the specialized interests and needs of its members. And this division can be made on many bases: adult study groups and youth study groups, male activities and female activities, senior athletic teams and junior teams, Wednesday suppers and Friday dinners, ad infinitum. This specialization within the church has advantages and disadvantages. It does provide a physical setting for and promotes the formation of primary groups, so vital to religious well-being, though their activities may have little to do with religious aims. It enables the "rural church in the urban world" to appeal to larger numbers on the basis of individual interests, as various studies[10] have shown and as the recent reports in *The Christian Century* of the twelve "most successful" churches vividly illustrate. But specialization of this type throws the church into competition with public and private agencies of all sorts, and the competition is tough, with the physical and financial, if not the psychological, advantages resting with commercial and public enterprise.

More importantly, specialization calls for specialists, i.e., those

10. See, for example, H. P. Douglass and E. de S. Brunner, *The Protestant Church as a Social Institution* (New York, 1935); R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (New York, 1937), ch. VIII; R. C. Smith, *The Church in Our Town* (Nashville, Tenn., 1945).

equipped with particularistic skills, and who are thus prepared, indeed eager, for the orderly procedures of bureaucracy. Hence the demand for schedules, bulletins, time allottments, planning. Plans must be designed to guarantee that the teams meet with the coach on time, that the discussion leaders have their equipment and their discussees, that the food caterer be properly briefed, or, in the case of the church highly successful in developing a rich offering, that the resident psychiatrist be undisturbed during his consultations. In these circumstances order must be kept; "the quick passage of impulse into action" can have little place; bureaucracy must, to some extent, rule.

It may be objected that the evidences of bureaucracy are found too readily or are exaggerated. And the reader may question the writer's familiarity with the myriad burdens carried by the small-town clergyman, whose single office often incorporates the roles of discussion leader, coach, preacher, editor and printer, psychiatrist, building superintendent, baby-sitter, etc. This noble creature who has no bureaucratic structure at his hand commands admiration. But specialization's ways are insidious. For the small-town jack-of-all-trades, unlike his village predecessor of an earlier era, tends to become a one-man bureaucracy, much in the manner of the one-room school teacher. His life (and usually his wife's as well) becomes scheduled, divided, compartmentalized, routinized, bureaucratized. And if he resists this development too much, not only will he experience serious difficulties in carrying out his specialized tasks, but he is apt to be dubbed a "poor administrator" of church affairs.

This accusation, when leveled against the minister of the big-city church, is more serious. For here, if division of labor and specialization have proceeded apace, the clergyman must become the top supervisor and guardian of diverse activities and personnel. Not unlike the president of a successful college, his administrative virtuosity must be applied to board meetings, committee sessions, employment policies, problems of finance, including fund-raising. His almost single remaining "religious" function is the weekly sermon, and it too, he is apt to find, must fit a pattern of planned design. This is a far cry from the days of the shepherd and his little flock of intimates, all participants in a knowable and well-integrated community. Yet the image of the man of cloth many people hold goes back to that earlier day, when the sacred and the secular were closely merged in the community center of the

church, when the community itself was an intimate primary group, when spontaneity and sentiment required no special fostering, when ministration superseded administration. The contrast between the lingering image of the minister as faithful though fallible shepherd, on the one hand, and the new social setting of the church and the behavioral reality of bureaucratic duties, on the other, complicates once more the difficulties of carrying out the sacred aims of faith and fellowship and a finer world.

These changes help to bring into church life still another of bureaucracy's traits. As the clergyman's tasks and skills become segmentalized and specialized, the social distance between himself and his parishioners increases. However shockingly little his salary, however greatly he strives to be "one of the boys" in good Rotarian fashion, he still faces the danger of becoming an expert, especially in the large city church. His expertness is not simply a monopoly of know-how in matters officially defined as sacred or spiritual, though there are problems here to be considered shortly, but includes intellectual prowess in other fields. He masters the complexities of political issues, of economic analysis, of international affairs, of sociological and psychological investigation, of psychiatry and psychoanalysis. He may even publish learned books in these subjects, and frequently not as an amateur. Most of the members of his congregation, on the other hand, are necessarily amateurs. And, like all amateurs in areas which have become professionalized and intellectualized (except in the physical sciences), they either resent and resist the special claims of the expert or they praise him unduly. Both of these reactions place the clergyman-turned-expert in much the same position as the professor faced by a client-public of inexpert, often suspicious, occasionally over-enthusiastic, individuals. The minister of the large congregation who has successfully avoided both antipathy between himself and his clients and the "bureaucratization of spontaneity" has managed an adaptation of real proportions.

Problems of adaptation are not confined, of course, to the clergy. The clients themselves are no longer the full participants in the primary family and rural neighborhood and the communal church. For they, too, in a sense, have become bureaucratized. Their interests and activities in the modern urban world, are multi-divided, segmentalized, routinized and ritualized. Most of their time and their concern is focused in the job and the family, and the first of these is very apt to be itself

subject to bureaucracy's demands. In other spheres of organized activity, political and recreational and religious, their roles are coming to be conspicuously marked by *spectatorship:* they listen and look, occasionally applaud and commend, frequently ignore or condemn, the offerings of others. They are members of inactive majorities, mass-witnesses of spectacles, spectator-citizens, spectators of sport and entertainment, spectator-worshipers in the urban church. In this last capacity they may even regard their weekly or less frequent attendance as a kind of periodic soul-cleansing routine—a routine one follows in an orderly, rational, and systematic fashion in about the same manner that one calls upon the dentist or physician or mechanic for periodic repairs. In any event, they are products of a social scheme of things that hardly prepares them, psychologically, for the eager and warm and full participation so urgently required by the cultural and humanistic aims of the liberal church.

These aims, it may be stressed in conclusion, meet an additional frustration in the social make-up of the church's membership. The call to battle for the cause of brotherhood and moral decency, frequently so courageously and eloquently sounded from the pulpits of the liberal church, often falls on deaf ears. The deficiency in hearing is physical only in exceptional cases; rather it is a social malady, primarily the product of a contented and complacent middle and upper class. This group's remarkable apathy is upset only with the greatest effort; and when it is disturbed, the security of the minister is threatened. For the position of the clergyman today, and the uneasy problems which are inherent in his office, are part of a now long-established and socially "respectable" organization. It is a type of organization the needs of which usher in bureacracy and its child, conservatism. But it is also an organization in which rational method, routine, specialization, and systematic order must remain instruments of human purpose. They must never be permitted to supplant the sacred goals themselves.

A CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS "APTITUDE"?

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THE RELIGIOUS CRISIS of our modern world presents two aspects. The one, I take it, is a mere surface phenomenon, and for this reason easily recognizable. It simply amounts to this. Modern man's attachment to religious institutions is weakening, or has been severed completely. I am referring to such well-known facts as the drop in Church attendance, the growing difficulty of recruiting suitable members for the ministry, and the increasing numbers of professed agnostics. For this development many causes can be found. But they are of little concern to us here, except in so far as there seems to exist a connection between this surface phenomenon and another—and much more fundamental—change in man's religious attitude.

This second aspect of the religious crisis is less tangible than the first, and has therefore received less attention. Or, are we not courageous enough to face the facts? Perhaps we do not wish to confess to ourselves the most disturbing truth, namely, that modern man is losing his very capacity to experience religious emotions and metaphysical anxiety. Speaking metaphorically, modern man is suffering from progressive atrophy of his religious organ. This is a broad generalization, and requires a word of explanation. It would seem that the percentage of individuals capable of intense religious experience has never at any time been very large in our Western world. Nor, for that matter, has there ever existed an unduly large percentage of people entirely devoid of religious sensibility. It may be presumed that religious aptitudes have been distributed just like others. That is to say, the distribution curve has a maximum ordinate, deviations on either side becoming rarer the greater they are. The *general* nature of this curve of distribution has probably not changed materially. It would be absurd to deny that there still exists a fair number of religiously "gifted" individuals, or that the average person still retains a modicum of religious sensibility. What I do believe is that the percentage of individuals with exceptional religious aptitudes has declined; that the intensity of religious feeling of the average person has diminished; and that the percentage of people with a very low religious aptitude has greatly increased.

It is, of course, impossible to offer conclusive proof of this thesis. Needless to say, we cannot measure the intensity of people's religious feelings; nor do we possess any information about the distribution of religious aptitudes in the past or today. In the absence of more reliable data, one has to fall back on such indirect evidence as is furnished by surface phenomena: the growing indifference of modern man towards religious observances, the spread of avowed agnosticism, etc. For the rest, we must trust our historical instinct to assist us in forming a judgement on these matters.

One has to read medieval reports on religious mass movements such as the pathetic Children's Crusade of 1212; the "Great Alleluia" of 1233, a revivalist movement which, in the course of a few weeks, transformed Northern Italy into a country seething with religious enthusiasm; the repeated outbreaks of religious dancing and flogging manias in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; or the delirium of repentance which seized the dissolute city of Florence in the fourteen-nineties as a result of Savonarola's preaching. One has to read these contemporary reports and innumerable other stories portraying similar events, in order to gain a yardstick of comparison between medieval and modern religiosity. Let me give just one quotation from a thirteenth-century source, the autobiography of an Italian friar, Salimbene. He describes the sermons of a great German mission-preacher, Berthold of Regensburg, in these words:

> All who have heard him say that, from the days of the Apostles even to our own, there was never his like in the German tongue. He was followed by a great multitude of men and women, sometimes to the number of sixty or a hundred thousand; or, again, the whole populations of more than one city would come together to hear the honeyed and saving words which flowed from his lips. . . . And when he preached of the tremendous judgement of God, all would tremble as a rush quivers in the water; and they would beseech him for God's love to speak no more of that matter; for it grieved them beyond endurance to hear him.[1]

To speak of mass hysteria, and to refer to rabble-rousing feats of modern demagogues does not explain anything. The question is not whether modern masses can be stirred up and roused to a high pitch of excitement; assuredly they can. The question is whether modern man can be swept off his feet by an appeal to his *religious* emotions. This

1. Quoted by G. G. Coulton, *Ten Medieval Studies* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 32.

question, I believe, answers itself. Survivals of religious enthusiasm in the modern world, such as Holy Roller meetings, or the fanaticism of the Doukhobors—not to speak of orgiastic practices of primitive societies —appear strange to us, and even repulsive.

It might be objected, however, that it is the *style* and the *outward expression* of our religious feelings rather than their *intensity* that have undergone a change. There can be no doubt that *all* our modes of expression have become much more restrained since medieval times. We do not swear—or at least not as heartily as our forefathers. Our dress—the dress of us males, that is—has become severe in cut and color, compared with the gaudy garments of late medieval and early modern days. Our drinking and eating habits—not to speak of love-making—have become refined and subdued. On the whole, we are less boisterous, more reserved, and generally less exuberant and demonstrative than people in the Middle Ages or even men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We have adopted what someone has called the "pose of understatement." Perhaps we have also acquired the habit of understating our religious sentiments?

I do not deny that some such change may have taken place in our religious behavior. As the Middle Ages were drawing to their close, more and more people began to seek their God in silence and solitude. Protestantism, especially its Puritan forms, must have further favored a quietist and introspective religiosity. With its stress on meditation and family prayers, and its aversion to all showy forms of liturgy, Protestantism usually offered little encouragement to the religious extravert. People learnt to repress any too violent manifestations of their religious feelings, and assumed a sober and dignified attitude. So, what appears to be a lack of religious fervor may simply be the result of modern man's inability or unwillingness to expose his inner life to the gaze of the multitude.

Leaving aside the question whether habitual repression of gestures and outward manifestations of feelings might not lead to a weakening of the emotions themselves, I think it is safe to say that the modern religious crisis cannot be explained away by that theory of "understatement." Modern man may indeed have become more reticent about his religious experiences, but one suspects that he would have very little to talk about anyway. His "R.Q." seems to be abnormally low.

What is more, modern man does not appear to be particularly wor-

ried about this loss of religious capacity. In many cases he does not even seem to be aware of it. In this respect, too, modern man differs from individuals of former times, many of whom must have had similar experiences. A temporary or even permanent "black-out" of religious faculties, an inability to call up faith, hope, and love, does not seem to have been an uncommon psychological experience in medieval times. But individuals afflicted by such a loss of feeling usually felt deeply unhappy. They believed themselves "forsaken of God"; they felt empty and exhausted; they were aware of a serious spiritual malady; and they tried desperately to recapture their former emotions, to win back "a state of grace." A fifteenth-century man, Johannes Busch, describes this spiritual experience in these words:

> How many temptations I suffered in my noviciate, especially concerning the Catholic faith, is known only to God, to whom all things are open. . . . My heart would cry out within me, "Thou knowest, it is not true that this Jesus is God." Yet, then I said in my heart, "I will die for the truth of Christ's divinity." Then would my heart cry again, "Thou wilt die for it, yet shalt thou see that it is a thing of naught." . . . But God Almighty suffered me thus to be tempted, because my experience enabled me, in after times, to free many others who were buffeted with the same temptations.[2]

This ardent desire to regain what men felt to be a state of spiritual health testifies to the intensity of their religious experience before the breakdown. You cannot deplore the loss of a mental faculty which you have never really exercized.

Modern man's indifference toward his lack or loss of religious experience, on the other hand, would seem to be conclusive proof of his congenital inability to experience intense religious feelings. He does not suffer from a sense of privation, simply because he has never possessed this particular mental faculty to any high degree. An unmusical person may politely deprecate his lack of musical appreciation, but he does not really understand what he is missing. In matters of faith the prevailing attitude of modern man would seem to be "that polite acquiescence, that serene indifference" which, according to M. Georges Duhamel, "are more to be dreaded than anti-clerical attacks, and should be viewed as dangerous portents in the history of religion."

If our diagnosis is correct, it is tempting to speculate about the possible causes of this momentous development. I say "causes," and I am

2. Quoted by G. G. Coulton, *loc. cit.*, p. 195.

using the plural deliberately, for it is not to be presumed that one single factor can account for this phenomenon. If, nevertheless, I attempt to isolate one particular cause, I am doing so because I believe that this factor is liable to be overlooked in any purely sociological analysis of our problem.[3]

Let me, first of all, state a hypothetical premise. I shall assume that religious aptitude, the capacity, that is, to experience religious emotions and metaphysical concern, is a heritable trait. It has to be admitted that we know very little about heredity of "positive" mental characteristics. While it is certain that persons with congenital defects—physical or mental—are likely to pass on their defective organization to some of their descendants, we do not possess this definite knowledge with regard to desirable qualities, particularly on the mental side. The latter, it would seem, result, not from the possession of any one genetic element, but from a conjunction of numerous factors, each of which may descend independently. Our assumption, then, admittedly, involves a good deal of simplification. Nonetheless, there is some evidence that certain talents, for instance musical genius—think of the Bach family!—do run in families. Is it too wild an assumption, then, to think of religious gift as something that a person receives, together with his physical traits and some other mental aptitudes, from his paternal and maternal ancestors?

If this premise be admitted as valid, one or two rather important conclusions can be drawn from it. It would seem that certain Christian sentiments, doctrines, and institutions have been, on the whole, exceedingly unfavorable to the survival of *homo religiosus* as a species. I am thinking, first of all, of the strong ascetic strain in Christianity. Chastity ranked high among the counsels of perfection; and, while it was not regarded as universally binding, this injunction of continence early led to customary, and before long to institutionalized celibacy among the religious *leaders*. Through many centuries the most highly gifted, religiously, of Christian men and women were drawn into monastic life or the priesthood, and thus prevented from transmitting

3. This author realizes that he is laying himself open to criticism on such grounds as have been taken by Professor John A. Irving in his essay "Evolution and Ethics" (*Queen's Quarterly*, vol. LV, no. 4, 1948). This criticism, which shows the inadequacy of applying uncritically to the study of society the concepts of nineteenth-century biology, deserves to be taken seriously. However, the present writer would urge that he does not intend to replace an environmentalist by a biological explanation. The status he claims for the following suggestions is merely that of a heuristic device.

their superior religious aptitude to coming generations. In other words, a process of "dysgenic selection" was going on, one which involved the systematic elimination from the chain of life of the very individuals who could have perpetuated their unusual religious gift.

To remind us that monastic vows were not always kept very faithfully, and that the medieval Church succeeded only late, and never completely, in enforcing celibacy among the clergy, would not be a valid objection to our argument. It is not suggested that all monks, priests, and nuns were persons of uncommon religious endowment. Indeed, many had no religious vocation at all, but had been sent to the monastery or into Holy Orders by their parents, for social or economic reasons. But those who were possessed of more than average religious qualifications would be the very ones who could be expected to observe the ascetic commandments of the Church most conscientiously.

Another and more serious objection to our thesis would be this: the Protestant Reformation, in Northwest Europe, resulted in the dissolution of the monasteries, and gave the clergymen freedom to marry. Celibacy as a religious institution disappeared. Since that process of negative selection was thus arrested in Protestant countries some four hundred years ago, one ought to find in these countries a more favorable distribution of religious aptitudes and—other things being equal—a more vigorous religious life than in Catholic societies, where the weeding out of religious genius has continued up to the present. Is this expectation borne out by the facts?

I do not think that there are many persons qualified to pass judgment on these matters; I am certainly not one of them. It is only with great diffidence that I offer a few tentative suggestions. Cardinal Newman once remarked that a Catholic, if he breaks away from his old religion, turns atheist. A Protestant who dissociates himself from an established Church becomes a sectarian. This bold generalization, while, of course, not literally correct, seems to contain a large element of historical truth. Catholic France, Italy, Spain, and Mexico are the classical countries of militant atheism; Protestant England and North America have been prolific of religious sects.

4. In more recent times, though, a powerful principle of *positive* selection has made its appearance in Catholic society. The well-known stand of the Catholic Church in the question of birth control tends to favor the "survival of the religiously fittest." Those who are in good earnest about what they conceive to be their moral obligations will transmit their higher religious aptitude to a numerous progeny.

Heterodoxy, so far from revealing an intrinsic weakness of the religious spirit, seems to be indicative of religious vigor and passion. Latitudinarian orthodoxy often is hardly distinguishable from indifferentism. The sectarian is a man who is "troubled in his spirit," a seeker for truth, a person who takes his beliefs very seriously. The conformist, in any Church, too often accepts religious tenets simply because he does not feel that they matter very much to him anyway. The sect-ridden Anglo-Saxon world, then, would appear to be in a better state of religious health than the Catholic world, whose orthodox security has never been seriously challenged since the days of Luther and Calvin. Mr. Hemingway seems to imply something of this sort when, speaking of an old Spanish peasant, he makes the following remark: "He is a Christian. Something very rare in Catholic countries."

If religiously inspired celibacy may be said to have acted as a principle of negative selection, the crusading spirit of the Middle Ages seems to have worked in the same direction. From Spain to Syria, and from Egypt and Tunis to the Lithuanian and Finnish "paganries," medieval Christendom was locked in struggle with the infidels. War against the heathen was the sworn duty of the medieval emperor.[5] This struggle against Moors and Slavs and Turks, which lasted almost incessantly from the time of Charlemagne to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond, resulted in considerable loss of life. Of course, the men who perished before the walls of Acre or Cordova were not all religious enthusiasts by any means; much adventurous and greedy riff-raff was drawn into these expeditions, people who were after spoils and plunder; and the motives of crusading knights and nobles were often equally sordid, not to speak of those entertained by the calculating Venetians and Genoese. To the extent, however, that religious zeal did provide an incentive for the Spanish *riconquista* or the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre—and who would deny this?—men susceptible to religious inspiration must have responded to the call of arms most readily. Fighting men fired by religious enthusiasm probably were also the very people who would brave dangers most recklessly. In other words, the Crusades must have resulted in a further disproportionate loss of religious substance.

The history of medieval heresies reveals yet another side of this tend-

5. C. Erdmann, Der Heidenkrieg in der Liturgie; in *Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, XLVI (1932), pp. 129 ff.

ency of the religious genius to eliminate itself biologically. As stated before, it is high religious tension rather than spiritual lassitude that is productive of dogmatic deviations. It is to be presumed that the men and women who embraced the heretical ideas of the Cathari, the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Lollards, and the Hussites—to name only the best known among the numerous medieval sects—were, in some respects, a religious elite. To break away from established religion, in the Middle Ages, required a great deal of moral as well as physical courage. The secular arm was always ready to strike on behalf of the orthodox faith.

Persecutions of heretical groups as well as of individuals—think of the Albigensian "Crusade" or the martyrdom of John Huss—did not succeed in stamping out the flames of heresy. But since the victims of orthodox violence were, on the whole, individuals endowed with an uncommon measure of religious aptitude, persecution must have acted as a further drain on the dwindling stock of those heritable traits which, according to our working hypothesis, enable man to experience religious emotions and metaphysical concern.

For summary, three factors may be surmised to have been inimical to the generic survival of religious aptitude: ascetic celibacy, religiously inspired warfare, and persecution of heterodoxy combined in eliminating from the racial body the very endowments which are a prerequisite of religious experience. It remains to be seen whether the recuperative powers of our race are strong enough to overcome the effects of that negative selection. Conditions of religious recovery are, perhaps, not altogether unfavorable, but it is conceivable that religious revival, if and when it comes, will appear in strange and repulsive disguises.

COMMUNICATION

RAYMOND COLLYER KNOX
1876-1952

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THE DEATH OF THE REV. DR. RAYMOND C. KNOX, chaplain emeritus of Columbia University, on January 26th, 1952, stirs a keen feeling of loss and a fresh sense of manifold and basic indebtedness to him. Some of our readers may recall that, from its beginning in 1936 until 1942, he was the Editor of *The Review of Religion.* And anyone who looks into and behind this fact will discover a man who for more than thirty years strove consistently that Religion might be studied in our University with intellectual competence and broad sympathies.

Dr. Knox was appointed in 1908 by President Nicholas Murray Butler to be the first resident chaplain at Columbia. His proposal to offer a course in the Bible, for academic credit in Columbia College, was acted upon favorably by the Committee on Instruction, after they were "assured of the scholarly nature and content of the course proposed, and of its freedom from denominational bias, so that it could be profitably taken by students without infringement upon their personal religious affiliations." His book, *Knowing the Bible,* was written with this kind of instruction in mind and was widely adopted by colleges and schools throughout the country. Dr. Knox introduced a second course in the Philosophy of Religion, which was sometimes given by a Professor of the Philosophy Department and sometimes by members of the Union Theological Seminary faculty. From 1915 on, Barnard College made provision for similar studies with Dr. Knox giving the course in the Bible.

In the years of his retirement, since 1942, Dr. Knox could have the satisfaction of seeing a very considerable expansion of the study of religion in American colleges. At Columbia, for example, the courses which he introduced have recently been supplemented by others in the Judaic, Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant traditions, each taught by a scholarly representative of his own tradition. The advocates of this development maintain, with appreciable realism, that

only representatives of each faith can explain its character from authentic experience and inner understanding. When the argument is pushed, however, as it sometimes is, to the verge of saying that the only kind of acceptable teaching in the field of religion is the kind that conforms to some orthodoxy, the question then arises whether instruction in the faith is not being allowed to overwhelm the function of inquiry. And to equip students for a vigorous and varied process of inquiry must, after all, be the very life-blood of academic institutions, their most distinctive responsibility.

Dr. Raymond C. Knox always saw this clearly. Everything he did for instruction was based on devotion to a kind of religion that had nothing to fear and much to gain from full and many-sided investigation. In 1926 he had the satisfaction of bringing to the University a bequest of half a million dollars known as the Schermerhorn Fund. For a number of years some of the income was devoted to the support of a series of public lectures on historical and current developments in the sphere of religion. From 1936 to 1950 *The Review of Religion* also received annual assistance from this fund. Now more of it is being used for regular instruction, and in aid of the program of graduate study in the literature, the history, the philosophy of religion, and in its relations to society.

After a study of European religious movements in 1932-1933, Dr. Knox wrote a book entitled *Religion and the American Dream,* in which he said: "In an atmosphere of freedom and without dogmatism, the highest contribution of religion is to present its vision of the purpose of life." He was a man without pretense or pose, who served God and his fellowmen in a manner that some may have felt was too plain, but which was wholesome in its directness and in its grasp of some intellectual conditions that seem no less than indispensable to the vigor of modern life. It is too much to expect that he can guide us out of our post-modern confusions, but in rowing a boat—a sport to which Knox was passionately addicted—one sometimes takes direction by looking back to points from which one has come.

BOOK REVIEWS

Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism. By GLADYS A. REICHARD. 2 Vols. New York: Pantheon Books, 1950. xxxvi, 800 pp. $7.50.

This work is certain to be acclaimed as an outstanding contribution toward an understanding of the religious complex of a people; and, in so far as from one we can learn all, to an understanding of the religion of primitive man, and, indeed, of man. There is much of the primitive in all of us and in every culture, and the religion of any group is likely to teach us something about the religion of every group. There could be no fitter stage than the one on which Professor Reichard unfolds the drama of the religious life and the roles of participants. The Navaho are the largest tribal group in the United States and the largest ethnic group north of Mexico. They occupy in the southwest some 25,000 square miles—several times the size of some of our New England States. This area would seem to provide space enough for the fifty thousand souls which inhabit it, but much of it can not be tilled or pastured, and much can not even be inhabited.

It is a wild and picturesque country, beloved of geologist and artist; but it does not beckon loudly to the average vacationist, and few Whites have wished to settle there. In this aridity there is scant plant life of the kind which assists human economy, and little animal life to attract the hunter. The crops and domesticated animals which one now finds there have been introduced by the Whites. Nature, it would seem, has had ample opportunity to make her impact felt in the culture. Nature does enter in, but not to any noteworthy extent or with any great intimacy.

Owing partly, no doubt, to its size, no tribe in the United States has been so much studied, or studied by so many ethnologists, as have the Navaho. Except the Eskimo, perhaps no ethnic group in the world has been so much and many times studied. Missionaries, ethnographers, linguists, travellers, have made their contributions and many excellent ones. For the task essayed here no one was better fitted than the author. She has spent, "since 1930, eight summers and parts of two winters on the Navaho reservation, learning the language and participating in the daily and the ceremonial life." She "planned the field project as a result of studying and retranslating Gray Eyes' dictation of the Male Shooting Chant Holy, recorded in text by Father Berard Haile in 1924 and given [to the author] by the Southwest Society in 1928."

Two Chants were sung over her. Preparation for them, and the ordeal of being sung over, involving the taking of emetics that might be expected to turn the stomach of a less hardy and persistent investigator, are something to remember. She also made phonographic records of the prayers and songs. In addition to personal observations and experiences, she has digested and critically used the reports of the many ethnographers who have labored in this field. To this unexcelled opportunity she brings analytic insights and wise syntheses which make *Navaho Religion* an outstanding contribution, probably *the* outstanding contribution, to an understanding of the religion of a primitive group.

No summary statement can do justice to this accomplishment. Nowhere does religion exist in a vacuum, though many students treat it as though such were the case. Miss Reichard presents it in its full setting—physical environment, mythologic background and foreground, perceptions and conceptions of things physical and things spiritual which are part of the content or of the orientation. We move from beginnings, the far off events of times primeval, through transformations and florescences, amid chant, ritual, ceremony, esthetic schemes and themes, realities and unrealities, fact and fancy.

> The body of Navaho mythology is to Navaho chanters what the Bible is to our theologians. The singer discussing his belief, as well as the layman asked a direct question, resorts for his answer to myth, which he considers final. It is therefore almost impossible to separate mythology or mythical concept completely from reality or practice. . . . Though in some of its concepts it may seem childlike, it is never childish, and its very childlikeness is sometimes merely evidence of a deep realization of spiritual things. (I, xxxv).

"Navaho dogma is based upon a cosmogony that tries to account for everything in the universe by relating it to man and his activities" (I,3). His religion embraces life; it is not, as often in the historic civilization, a compartment of it. His treatment of disease, the symbolic significance assigned to respective colors and to points of the compass, the animals, the plants, the mountains, thunder, all are part of the religious complex and divergently significant.

The second volume contains concordances which give, under alphabetic arrangement, further information about the animals and various beings, real or mythical, which play a role in the religious life; a comparable list of all physical materials which have this importance, and of acts and concepts; a detailed list of the rites; and for each item detailed

descriptions or explanations. There is an extensive bibliography, and an admirable index.

The style, limpid and lucid, yet precise and faultlessly mortised, makes the reading as delightful as it is informative. Whoever is interested in religion or in human beings will be grateful for *Navaho Religion.*

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Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East. By THEODOR H. GASTER. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. xvi, 498 pp. $7.50.

This book, the fruit of great learning, consists of two parts. The first, of just over 100 pages, expounds the author's thesis; the second, of nearly 400 pages, gives translations and commentaries of Ugaritic, Hittite, Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek texts. Then follow indices of motifs, subjects, and authors, and a bibliography of over 500 works to which reference has been made in the text. The volume is beautifully printed and bound.

The author has, through many years, contributed to the translation and elucidation of the remarkable texts discovered in 1929 at Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit, on the coast of North Syria. With this important aspect of Dr. Gaster's work, represented by the translations of the second part, this reviewer is not in a position to deal, and it should be clearly understood that the following criticism concerns the theoretical part of the work, not the collection of texts in which the author's philological scholarship is embodied.

Of the first part it must be said that much is asserted which requires proof. But the work does not seem to aim at proving an argument; it takes certain premises for granted which, I think, stand in great need of scrutiny. Professor Gilbert Murray contributes a Foreword and refers in it to an Excursus he wrote in 1912 for Jane Harrison's *Themis.* At that time the dark roots of Greek tragedy in ancient seasonal celebrations had just been discovered. But fruitful concepts, like historical hypotheses, stand in need of constant revision, and it is the necessary refinement of an adopted conceptual apparatus which I miss in Dr. Gaster's work. He makes, in fact, more sweeping generalizations than either Frazer or Jane Harrison allowed themselves. Frequently over-

statement destroys his case altogether. When it is said (p. 49) that the god round whom "the seasonal myth" centers "is, of course, nothing but a durative projection of the king," the whole richness and subtlety of ancient myth and thought is denied. When it is said (p. 7; cf. pp. 49; 51) that "the community attempts by its own concerted and regimented effort, to galvanize its moribund condition, etc.," one misses any awareness of the reciprocal relationship between man (or society) and the superhuman which is the essence of religious experience. Such statements have no relation to psychological realities, and the anecdote of the Euboean woman in Holy Week, which Gilbert Murray relates in the Foreword, reflects more truly the spirit of "the women wailing for Tammuz" than the author's explanation (p. 17).

The "pattern" is, moreover, made to accomodate very heterogeneous things: on page 42 the "general saturnalian license" of the Attis cult is explained as a "symbol of the topsy-turvydom or suspension of normal activities"; this is supposed to represent a recurring phase in the pattern, but that phase is usually described (e.g., p. 7) as "a state of suspended animation"—than which no words could be less appropriate to the ecstatic excesses of the Attis cult. If it is maintained (p. 6) that there exists a universally valid "seasonal pattern of which the typical and representative character is guaranteed by the fact that the constituent elements are everywhere virtually the same," that contention can only be made because a number of usages are always interpreted in a single way, although alternative interpretations are known to be valid. For instance, mortification and fast are part of "the pattern" (p. 6), but Paul Radin has shown how the Winnebago fast without reference to the seasons and with an entirely different aim, namely to obtain the individual blessing of supernatural gifts from the spirits. Ritual combat is also part of "the pattern" (pp. 21 ff.), and it is supposed to take place between summer and winter, good and evil. But when the Shilluk install a new king there is a mock battle between two armies, led by the king-elect and by the god Nyakang respectively.[1] Neither of these represents darkness or evil. There is also no question of a seasonal ritual. The purpose of the battle seems to be the avoidance of the *hybris* implied in the fact that the king-elect should offer himself as a worthy vehicle for the god's incarnation. The god, present in his fetish, takes

1. See P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thompson, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, XXVII (1946) 5-85, especially 60-63.

the initiative; his army captures the king-elect and brings him to the shrine, where he becomes possessed of the god. Something similar might well explain the mock battle at the Isis temple at Papremis, which Herodotus records, and possibly also the mock battle on the occasion of Pharaoh's Sed Festival.

Even in dealing with the ancient Near East, with which he is more particularly concerned, the author does not make the distinctions which should be made, and which, it must be admitted, many others who assume the existence of a common "pattern" in the Near East ignore likewise. His outline of "the pattern" (pp. 34 f.), which is offered as "a synthetic and composite picture," contains some features which are known only in Egypt, and others known only in Mesopotamia. Now it is not quibbling to insist that this is wrong, for one would have the right to postulate the existence, in both countries, of features known from only one of them, only if the existence of a common pattern were certain. Not only is its existence unproved, but the evidence speaks against it. For the presence or absence of certain features in a given country is by no means a matter of accident; it reaches to the very roots of the problem which Ruth Benedict has faced in *"Patterns of Culture."* Certain features in myth or ritual agree with the Egyptian's general outlook on the world in which he found himself, but are quite incompatible with the outlook of the Mesopotamian; the reverse, of course, is equally true. To quote a few examples: in Egypt the king was divine in essence, and the conception of a substitute king, or of a deposition or humiliation of the king, was therefore unknown and unthinkable. In Mesopotamia the king was a mere man who was sometimes (only during the last centuries of the third millennium B.C.) deified. He then represented, in the rite of the sacred marriage, the god in whose vicissitudes seasonal change is reflected. In Egypt this god is Osiris. Now Pharoah never, in his lifetime, incorporates Osiris; no ritual of the sacred marriage is known in connection with Osiris; and Osiris remains in the Netherworld at all times and does not return to life in the manner of his Mesopotamian counterpart.

I have not referred to the Old Testament material, because the interpretation which the author, in common with others, favors, would, if justified, only show that Mesopotamia exercised influence in Jerusalem; it would not prove the existence of a common pattern in the Near East. I have not referred to the Hittite and the Ras Shamra texts, because

they still seem to me to very obscure and different in tenor from those of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Nor have I referred to the connection of these various texts with drama, although the title of the book suggests this as its central theme. But I have found little in it that bears on the subject. The origin of drama in Greece is in itself a very complex one, and, if there are any links with the pre-classical world (a question raising very obscure historical problems), the author has not demonstrated their existence, let alone proved the "inescapable conclusion that our Ancient Near Eastern texts are indeed the libretti (or, at least, the residual forms) of seasonal pantomimes and thus the prototypes of classical Greek and modern European drama." (p. 72). Let me repeat, however, that this criticism of the author's argument and viewpoint does not invalidate the fact that three fourths of the book contains translations and discussions of ancient texts which are nowhere else found together and are of the greatest interest to all those concerned with ancient Near Eastern religion.

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The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. (Skrifter utgivna av kungl. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet I Lund. IX. Acta reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis. IX. Second revised edition.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1950. xxiv, 656 pp., with 208 Figures in the text.

The venerable and distinguished Swedish author, now Professor Emeritus of classical archeology and ancient history in the University of Lund, was already active in the same University in 1925, twenty-five years ago, when he finished the first edition of this important book (published 1927). A second edition became necessary, not only on account of the strong demand for the book which was out of print, but also because, in the meantime, many books and papers dealing with the Minoan-Mycenean civilization have appeared. Outstanding among these are the author's own books: *The Mycenean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Sather Classical Lectures, VIII, 1931), *Homer and Mycenae* (1933), and papers such as "Early Orphism and Kindred Religious

Movements," in *Harvard Theological Review,* XXVIII (1935). Among other books the most important are: Sir Arthur J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos,* Vols. II-IV with an index volume by Jean Evans (1928-36); John D. Pendlebury's *The Archaeology of Crete* (1929), with its sober and excellent chronological arrangement of the mass of material scattered in the large volumes of Evans; George Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykene,* 3 vols. (1930-32); Axel W. Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times* (Sather Classical Lecture, XVII, 1942); Charles Picard, *Les religions préhellénique* in *Mana, Introduction à l'histoire des religions,* II, 1 (1948). To these must be added the many papers in Swedish, French, British, German, and American periodicals, and the many new finds made in Crete, on the mainland, the islands, and in Anatolia during the last quarter of our century. All this material has been carefully studied and used by Nilsson and embodied into the new edition. Understandably, the result is about seventy-five additional pages and about seventy-five more illustrations in the new edition than there were in the first, which had four plates and 113 figures in the text. This means there are about three pages and three figures more for each year that has passed since the finishing of the first edition.

The comparison between the two editions is made easy from the printing of the old page numbers on the inner margin and the old numbers of the figures in brackets. Otherwise it would be difficult to distinguish between the old and new material, as the new investigations and new finds are incorporated in such a masterly way that the large book makes easy and interesting reading. The leading ideas have remained the same as before, but a deeper understanding of the problems of the relation between the Minoans and the Myceneans on the one hand, and between the Mycenean and the Homeric age on the other hand, have led the author to the conviction, now shared by most scholars, that the Greek mainland was not colonized by the Cretans, but that the Mycenean Greeks appropriated Minoan culture, and with it Minoan religion, for themselves. This has led to the shortening of some, but mostly to the extention of other parts. The introduction, therefore, has only thirty-three instead of forty-eight pages. On the other hand, most chapters are expanded to include a careful description of newer finds, like, in Part I, "Minoan-Mycenean Religion according to the Monuments," several newly-discovered caves in the chapter on nature sanctuaries (pp. 58-60, with Fig. 12), and the shrines of Gazi, Karphi, Asine

and Berbati among the house sanctuaries (pp. 100 f., 110-16 with Figs. 23-27, 31-33). In Part II, "Minoan-Mycenean Religion in its Relation to Greek Religion," the newly discovered temples of Prinia, Dreros, and Paphos have been added to the places which show the continuity of the cult and the cult places (pp. 454-57 with Fig. 200).

Perhaps the most important reworking is found in the last chapter, XVII, "The Hero Cult and the After-Life." The tombs of Medea, published by Axel W. Persson, *The Royal Tombs of Dendra* (1931) and *New Tombs at Dendra near Medea* (1943), and a tholos tomb at Marathon, published in *Praktika* (1933) and *Arch. Anz.* (1935), are discussed at some length for the new light they throw on the problem of funeral gifts burnt in or outside the prehistoric graves as the beginning of hero worship of dead ancestors (pp. 597-601 with Fig. 207). The Mycenean and Homeric burial customs are re-examined in the light of the investigations by the author in his paper "Mycenean and Homeric Religion," in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* XXXIII (1936), of Mylonas "Homeric and Mycenean Burial Customs," in *American Journal of Archaeology,* LII (1933), H. L. Lorimer, "Pulvis and Umbra," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LIII (1933), and others in a note (pp. 616-19). The differences in the funeral customs found during the Mycenean age and those recorded by Homer is rightly seen by Nilsson, in contrast to other authors, as differences between the burial rites of the mighty and the common people, not to the sudden invasion of new rites.

The discussion of the fake "Ring of Nestor" in the first edition (pp. 549-56) has been rightly transferred from the chapter on the After-Life to the Appendix of the introduction "Suspect Objects" (pp. 42-50 with Figs. 9-10); for there is no doubt that it is one of the large number of forgeries turned out in recent years.

The conclusions of the broad investigations, sober descriptions, and carefully considered inferences from reliable evidence, have remained the same as in the first edition, and I believe that they can be shared by everyone:

> Some of the deepest and richest sources of Greek religion spring from the remote past, when monarchs of the kin of Minos held sway over the Greek islands and the sea, and Minoan civilization penetrated Greece. Many scholars believe that the two great antitheses in the Greek religion are the Olympians, the religion of the Homeric knights, and the chthonic deities, the religion of the peasants. I think that the antitheses are of a racial character; they are Homer and Minos, each taken as a representative of his race, the Greek and

the pre-Greek elements in the historical Greek religion, which was formed by a fusion of both, just as the historical Greek people was formed by a fusion of Greeks and Minoans (p. 633).

Some scholars will, of course, continue to hold the different beliefs mentioned by Nilsson. Others will quarrel with details. This reviewer, for example, does not agree with the dating of the sculptured stelai found inside the grave circle at Mycene. Nilsson and Karo believe that they had already been erected at the time when the royal tombs were built on the slope of the Acropolis in the late Helladic I period, and were lifted to the higher level when the area was levelled off and surrounded by a double ring of stone slabs in the late Helladic III period (pp. 606 f., Fig. 208). The work of the reliefs on the steles belongs to the schematized and degenerated latest period, when the ancestors, buried here hundreds of years ago, had already become heroes, and their graves, therefore, were only then marked with the stelai representing them as victorious warriors on their cars. This dating seems to tie in much better with Nilsson's own theories of the development of the hero cult at tombs of outstanding men, than the earlier date.

The book is well printed. There are very few typographical errors, e.g., page 617, line 16: conclusion (not condusion), and page 628, note 27: Oita (not Oite).

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Essays on a Science of Mythology: The Myth of the Divine Child and The Mysteries of Eleusis. By C. G. JUNG and C. KERÉNYI. (The Bollingen Series XXII.) Pantheon Books, New York: 1950. 289 pp. $4.00.

A science of elucidation that neither pretends nor tries to explain away the nuclear mystery of the considered object, but allows that mystery to be apparent, and even to increase in mystery, from the first page of the science to the last, is something new; something considerably more convincing, moreover (though perhaps less pacifying), than the usual "nothing but," which we are accustomed to regard as science and which, progressing with science, we are accustomed to revise every decade. Here, at last, is something permanent: the primordial mystery of the Mother Goddess made known again, and again made to speak to

the mystery inside us. Dr. Kerényi's consummate ease among the deities of the Greeks and Dr. Jung's unparalleled acquaintance with the phenomena of the psyche, unite, like two hemispheres, to demonstrate once more what has been shown before (and by none more convincingly than by Dr. Jung himself), namely, the identity of the archetypes of mythology with those of visionary dream.

The keynote is sounded in the introduction by Dr. Kerényi:

> What is music? What is poetry? What is mythology? All questions on which no opinion is possible unless one already has a real feeling for these things. That is natural and obvious enough. Not so, however, our feeling in the case of the last named. Only the greatest creations of mythology proper could hope to make clear to modern man that here he is face to face with a phenomenon which "in profundity, permanence, and universality is comparable only with Nature herself." If we want to promote a real knowledge of mythology, we must not appeal at the outset to theoretical considerations and judgements. . . . Neither should we talk overmuch of "sources." The water must be fetched and drunk fresh from the spring if it is to flow through us and quicken our hidden mythological talents (p. 1).

The quickening of those talents is the aim of this new science of mythology that is gradually growing today (compare, for example, Heinrich Zimmer, another of its masters, in his introduction to *The King and the Corpse,* The Bollingen Series XI, New York, 1948). Its method is that of circumambulation: a regarding of the mythologems from as many sides as possible and in differing contexts, with due attention to their functional displacements in the various traditions, while gradually fathoming, at the same time, our own interior, opening our eyes to the images streaming out of our own ground—even as one must sink into oneself to experience (if one can) the depth of an ode or sonata. Two mythologems are regarded in this way in the present volume, that of the divine child and that of the maiden goddess. Each of the authors treats of each from his own point of view, Kerényi ranging through the temples of Olympus and Jung through the labyrinths of the psyche.

Dr. Kerényi's first chapter, "The Primordial Child in Primordial Times," reviews the figure of the miraculous child as modulated "in the keys of the various gods"; not only in the Greek Child-Apollo, -Hermes, -Eros, -Zeus, and -Dionysos, but also in the fairy-tale child-heroes of the Black Forest Tatars, the Voguls, the Finns, and the Armenians, and in the Hindu giant child Narayana, as beheld playing be-

neath the cosmic tree in the cosmic ocean by the sage Markandeya. The myth is that of the child abandoned, threatened by extraordinary dangers, even devoured (Zeus) or dismembered (Dionysos), often with the father in the ogre role. The mother—mysteriously—both is and is not (e.g., Semele, already dead when Dionysos was born). The child is shown solitary and at home in the natural world, or the mother is abandoned together with her infant (as Leto with Apollo). The child, then, is subjected to miseries, but, suddenly, the moment comes of its epiphany, when its powers break into play and its enemies are undone.

What affects us in this mythologem and constitutes its meaning—according to our author—is the revelation of divinity in the paradoxical union of lowest and highest, weakest and strongest, which is not a motif derived a posteriori from a consideration of human biographies, but the elemental material of myth. In the Hindu example, the child is the unfolding of the cosmic egg and the substratum of the world. (Similar motifs appear in the Finnish, Greek, and Roman materials.) In this image the world is telling of its own childhood, and everything that sunrise and the birth of a child mean for, and say about, the world.

> What appears to be biographical in mythology is, as it were, an anecdote that the world relates from its own biography, in dreams, visions, and—far more vividly and graphically than in these—in mythology. . . . Hence the relations of mythology to science, hence its spiritual character, by virtue of which it, like science, transcends the individual phenomenon (p. 62).

> In the epoch of the great Ionian thinkers, the cosmic content that forms the nucleus of mythology passes over into Greek philosophy (p. 66).

Meanwhile in the mythologem, and most vividly in that of the primordial child Dionysos, the tenor of the symbol is "the certainty that the downward-trending path takes an *upward* turn leading to the Divine, and that the strongest will be born of the weakest" (p. 94).

Dr. Jung's study of the same figure is divided into two parts: (1) "The Psychology of the Child Archetype," and (2) "The Special Phenomenology of the Child Archetype." Beginning with a brief review of the history of the psychology of the unconscious (from which the name Freud is all but omitted), he points out that in the dream, as in the products of psychoses, "typical mythologems were observed among individuals to whom all knowledge of this kind was absolutely out of the question," which suggested that " 'myth-forming' structural ele-

ments must be present in the unconscious psyche" (p. 99). These structural elements—known as *archetypes*—appear in myths and fairy-tales in an ordered and, for the most part, immediately understandable context, but in dreams in an unintelligible, irrational sequence, which, none the less, does not lack a certain hidden coherence. The archetype, therefore, cannot be said to proceed from physical facts, and myths, consequently, cannot be allegories of the spectacle of nature. On the contrary:

> *Contents of an archetypal character are manifestations of processes in the collective unconscious.* Hence they do not refer to anything that is or has been conscious, but to something *essentially unconscious.* In the last analysis, therefore, *it is impossible to say what they refer to.* Every interpretation necessarily remains an "as-if". . . . All we can do is to circumscribe and give an approximate description of an *unconscious core of meaning.* The ultimate meaning of this nucleus was never conscious and never will be (p. 104).

It is this realization of the truly symbolic, rather than allegorical, character of mythology that gives validity and vitality to the science of these essays.

Dr. Jung proceeds to a discourse on the child-god, *puer aeternus,* the radiant boy, as an "irruption of the unconscious" giving notice of life-renewing potentialities of some rejected, devalued, or unsuspected psychological factor. In the little dwarf and elf, metal man, and Christ-child, in the visionary figure of Meister Eckhart's "naked boy," and in the visions of alchemy, finally in the symbols of dream and psychotic hallucination, the child-motif appears. It represents

> not only something that existed in the distant past but also something that exists *now;* that is to say, it is not just a vestige but a system functioning in the present whose purpose is to compensate for or correct, in a sensible manner, the inevitable one-sidednesses and extravagances of the conscious mind. . . . Our differentiated consciousness is in continual danger of being uprooted; hence it needs compensation through the still existing state of childhood (pp. 112-13).

This will suffice to give a sense of the tone and content of the profoundly suggestive, handsomely illustrated volume before us. The chapters on the divine child are followed by a parallel study of Kore, the maiden goddess of Eleusis, which Dr. Jung illuminates with a number of stunning dreams. A superb index makes possible a very fruitful mulling back and forth over the pages after the reading of the book has

been completed, while an elegant translation of the difficult text makes repeated perusal a delight to the mind.

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A Commentary on the Creed of Islam. (Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī on the Creed of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī.) Translated with introduction and notes by EARL EDGAR ELDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. xxxii, 187 pp. $5.00.

In issuing this volume (No. 43 in the series of the "Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies"), the Columbia University Press deserves our thanks. The Translator and Editor is one of the best known missionaries in the Islamic World, the present holder of the secretariat of the Near East Christian Council. He has been Headmaster of a Cairo Secondary School, Superintendent of the School of Oriental Studies at the American University, and on the Staff of the Theological Seminary. He is, further, the author of an Arabic Grammar and Editor of a Reader of Modern Egyptian. He is, therefore, a worthy exponent of a medieval scholar equally catholic in the range of his interests; for Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī produced books and presumably some lectures on Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Jurisprudence, Metaphysics and Theology, Law, Qur'anic Exegesis, and Philology. Dr. Elder has perhaps gone "one better" in showing himself a philosopher in two languages.

We have but scanty information with regard to al-Taftāzānī, who hailed from Khurāsān and became an author at the age of sixteen. The present study, which is a Commentary on the Creed of an-Nasafī, was completed twenty-three years before his death, and was in the wake of other learned books, which included the aptly named *Muṭawwal* (written when he was twenty-six, a manuscript of which, copied rather more than 200 years after his death and running into some 9,000 lines of closely written Arabic, is in the Hunterian Collection of MS.S. in the University of Glasgow. Our study, however, is much shorter, so that, perhaps, al-Taftāzānī learned brevity with maturity. He was a Muslim thinker in the direct succession of al-Ash'arī, who made orthodoxy safe for Islam over a millennium ago. Creeds have a way of becoming stereotyped: and al-Ash'arī laid a foundation on which others built from al-

Ghazzālī to al-Faḍālī. The Confession of al-Nasafī came thirty years after the *Ihya* of al-Ghazzālī, and it was more than another two centuries before al-Taftāzīnī wrote his commentary of explanation.

Dr. Elder quotes an "illuminating paragraph" from Ibn Khaldūn, who "discovered" al-Taftāzānī when on a visit to Cairo and credited him with a "profound knowledge" of more sciences than one. Ibn Khaldūn knew what he was talking about. So does Dr. Elder, and here is a second "illuminating" sentence—this time from him—

> The orthodox Theology of Islam developed a unique theory for explaining the active relationship of the Creator to His universe. . . . It is just because this theory of Continuous Re-Creation and Atomic Time lies behind the explanations given by al-Taftāzānī of the Creed of al-Nasafī that this exposition of a Muslim Creed is of great interest (p. vii).

The book itself, "as a comprehensive and authoritative statement of Islamic belief made at the time when it had become crystallized," is a text-book of theology at the great Muslim University of Al-Azhar.

Dr. Elder has contrived to arrange the Creed and its Commentary more attractively than the original authors. Paper in New York is not the problem it was for our medieval scholars: the book is one that remains open at the desired page without artificial aids! How we wish that the binder of the *Muṭawwal,* before it was brought to Scotland, had known more about the art. After the Preface, in which al-Taftāzānī pays tribute to al-Nasafī as "painstaking," as well as being an example of learning and a star of faith, he plunges in medias res, taking the reader through (Dr. Elder's) nineteen chapters of commentary, which may be at first somewhat monotonous to the unphilosophically and untheologically-minded, but which should grow more interesting with the perusal. Dr. Elder has made the study more attractive with his divisions and headings. The Creed is printed in thick black type before every chapter, and thereafter repeated clause by clause previous to the actual comments—the style familiar to readers of al-Baiḍāwī. We cannot help feeling that this scheme would be a help to the students at Al-Azhār as they tackle al-Taftāzānī in the original. His commentator calls the confession of al-Nasafī "brief," so that we have here a kind of Muslim "shorter Catechism" expanded and interpreted. The ultimate basis of the Muslim Creed is simple as well as short, but quickly proved capable of extension. Al-Taftāzānī feels that al-Nasafī's version is still

"concise," while he has been able to keep the Commentary within reasonable limits.

Not the least valuable part of Dr. Elder's editing is the bracketing of the Arabic words or phrases which follow the technical terms. In addition, the whole work is thoroughly well documented, with over 400 notes of varying length, coupled with an ample bibliography and a compendious index. The whole is preceded by the Editor's Introduction, which traces the history of credal development from the days of the necessity arising from the breach of the Kharijites up to the thoroughgoing atomists, whose twelve propositions (as given by Maimonides) are related. One sentence at least, in the closing paragraph of this Introduction, is worth the quoting: "It is not unlikely that some strange and incongruous teachings may claim in the years to come that they are not incompatible with the basic message of Islam."

In these days of the strides made by "systematic theology" it might be well to compare and contrast the text books in a western theological seminary with this one from the Al-Azhār. Would it not be a good thing for Islamic theology today (with its crystallization still so largely unimpaired) to receive the same type of criticisms as are meted out to Christian doctrines by al-Taftāzānī? Christian students of Islam and Islamic students of Christianity would alike be the gainers. It should have the effect of making us all more careful in our statements, less dogmatic in some of our judgments, and more clarifying in our essential witness. The present reviewer remembers the late Canon W. H. T. Gairdner returning to lunch one day in Cairo, thirty years ago, quite upset that other members of a committee he had attended seriously considered translating and printing a distinctively *western* book on Christian evidences. The Canon wished the long chapter dealing with proofs for the existence of God to be omitted as waste of time, paper, energy, and purpose. With the sincere Muslim thinker the Christian—be he controversialist, missionary, philosopher, or expert in comparative religion—may take that for granted: it is, as al-Taftāzānī knew full well, later on that the "rub comes."

Our Commentator, however, does not criticize only the Christians, for even al-Ash'ārī is not free from correction, much the less the Hanbalites and the Mu'tazilites. There is another point arising from the consideration of this work as a "text book." In the present state of the religious world and the positions of importance occupied by Christianity and

Islam across the globe and the crying need for more understanding and less misunderstanding, have we not a right to ask that the theological seminaries of the United States and Britain should pay as much attention to al-Taftāzānī, or rather for what he stood for as (shall we say?) to Kirkegaard and other continental divines? It is books like Dr. Elder's and the recent volumes of Sweetman, Watt, and Tritton that deserve a place in the theological curriculum and so in the Christian apologetic.

Half a dozen "chapters" are given to the discussion of the nature and attributes of Allah. Here we find a doctrine of "otherness"; here we meet the theory of the Qur'ān as the Uncreated Word of God most High, perhaps more than a mere echo of the Arian controversy; here is a doctrine of "eternity" which takes us back to One who "was and is and is to come"; here is the "beatific vision"; here are all the problems raised by "creating" and "decreeing," the perennial intellectual difficulties on which the (Near) Eastern World has thrived. Here is a book for the "People of Reality" who must face the tension between "responsibility" and "guidance," but who will be called upon to face "eschatological realities" as well—some of them, perhaps, to be a bit of a surprise. And then "Sin"—what does sin really imply to the Muslim mind outside the "unforgivable sin" of the "joining of another" with Allah, or, rather, what constitutes sin? Perhaps in these modern "atomic" times it is good to be told, "Whoever has done an atom's worth of good shall behold it." Or, again, how far do Christian people consider the differences of emphasis as between the various words by which Muslims and themselves express the degrees of faith, belief, assent, and intellectual conviction? Where does the last merge into the spiritual?

There is another "chapter" shared between the messengers, the angels, and the books—here the level does not commend itself as on the high plane of much of the previous material. Now and again there seem to be Islamic versions of New Testament ideas rather than phraseology—the remark about Uḥud (for instance) is reminiscent of the "faith that removes mountains." The redeeming feature here is that the prophets loom larger than the angels and the books. Some, too, would feel it strange that al-Taftāzānī should rank the *Injīl* in excellence as lower than the *Tawrā*. He comes near, too, to the approval of "favorite passages." In "Miracles," it is somewhat surprising that so eminent a scholar should have been forced to the conclusion that the "night journey which was from the Sacred Mosque . . . is an absolute fact established by

the Book" (p. 137). In what sense "absolute"? While for the further instances of miracles, we should have liked more examples in some cases, for al-Taftāzānī says that it is related of many Walis that they walked on the water.

The next section, on the Khalifate and Imamate, is much sounder—after all, it was rather more essential to the well-being of Islam. The remaining "Articles of Belief," as the Creed winds its way towards its close, are sometimes almost intriguing, and we are prone to ask whether al-Taftāzānī was a convinced prohibitionist; but the inmates of the "Garden" must have been to him and others a goodly throng; while it is not too late for a worthwhile article on "Prayers for the Dead in Islam and Christianity." So we reach the "Last Hour" and its signs—one of them the "Descent of Jesus," mention of whom comes at intervals throughout the book—thus maybe evidencing the tension there has been these thousand years and more—still to be resolved as it must be. If al-Taftāzānī is in some sense a controversialist, he would seem to have striven to maintain a more correct attitude than is always found, but which should characterize genuine scholarship. He may have spent too much time over his numerous writings and too little over his students, which may account in part for the statement in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* that "he seems to have had no pupils of great distinction," to which we would add, until an editor and translator of his Creed and Commentary was found in the person of Dr. Elder!

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Isaaks Opferung christlich gedeutet: eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. By David Lerch. Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr, 1950. xvii, 290 pp. DM 25:60.

Aus frühchristliche Zeit: religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. By Hans Joachim Schoeps. Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr, 1950. viii, 320 pp. DM 21 (bound, DM 24).

There has recently been a considerable revival of interest in the question of the history of exegesis. This is an important subject, the investigation of which ought to shed considerable light on a number of problems in historical theology, for, both among the Rabbis and in the

Christian Church, theologians have leaned heavily on the interpretation of texts of Scripture. The great obstacle to the fruitful study of this subject, however, is the formidable technical apparatus which it demands. Exegetes can only be studied in the language in which they wrote, and against the background of the culture of their day and place. A study of the Scripture interpretations of Clement of Alexandria, for example, demands not only a careful study of his language, but an equally careful study of the exegetical tradition of the Jewish circles from which he quite clearly derived much, and of the methods of exegesis applied to the interpretation of Homer and the old poets in the pagan schools of his day, by which he was also influenced, and apart from which his own methods of interpretation are not fully intelligible. When we come into the Middle Ages the task of untangling the strands in literary-historical problems is even more complicated and difficult, and the linguistic equipment necessary for attacking it such as can be acquired by but few students.

Research in this field may be approached by any one of three methods. It may be stratigraphic, taking one period as a stratum and investigating the exegetical methods and results of all the writers of this period, whatever their area or affiliation. It may be personal, taking one writer at a time and investigating the interpretation of Scripture to be discovered in his works. Or it may be topical, choosing some limited topic and tracing the way in which that topic has been handled by the exegetes who concerned themselves with it from the earliest times to the present, irrespective of where those exegetes lived or what was their affiliation. In many ways this latter method, though it makes the greater demands on the technical competence of the investigator, is the most fruitful of the three. It is the method which has been chosen by David Lerch in this study, which appears as No. 12 of Gerhard Ebeling's *Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*.

The topic he has chosen is that offered by the story in Genesis which tells of Abraham's willingness to offer up his son Isaac in sacrifice. It is a topic which offers a number of interesting problems, such as that of sacrifice in general and human sacrifice in particular, that of the tempting or testing of Abraham, that of filial submission even unto death, that of angelic intervention, that of the promise to Abraham—all of which have no inconsiderable theological importance. Moreover, it is a topic which, throughout the centuries, has caught the imagination

of writers belonging to the most varied schools of thought, so that the material available for the study of the topic is unusually abundant. Within the limits of a single book it would manifestly be impossible to exhaust the material that could be assembled, so that the present volume, in which typical examples have been taken from different periods, is in the nature of an exploration of the territory and a suggestion of the way in which such an investigation should be carried out.

After a brief introduction stating his method, Dr. Lerch begins with an examination of the way in which the Rabbis interpreted this Isaac story, and how it was handled by Philo and Josephus. This leads to what we can learn from the fragmentary material on the subject in Christian circles before Origen, as a preparation for a detailed study of the interpretations of Origen and such later writers as Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Ambrosius, and Augustine. Then follow chapters on the exegesis of the story in the Middle Ages, by the Reformers and writers of the post-Reformation period, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, by the Humanists and the early critical exegetes, and by certain representative writers of the modern era.

The author's mastery of the material he uses is admirable, and he has managed with an equally admirable clarity to set forth his understanding of the points at issue in various knotty problems. To cover so much ground in so little space has necessarily meant great condensation, so that one could often wish for fuller treatment of specific points and of the theories of particular writers. It seems a pity that the exegesis of the later Jewish writers and of the Oriental Churches has been almost entirely omitted, though it would have provided rich material on this particular topic. This omission was doubtless due to the linguistic problems involved, and where so much is provided it is perhaps ungenerous to complain about what has had to be passed over. The main interest of the work, of course, will be the light it sheds on the history of the exegesis of this passage, where so clearly the peculiar religious problems of different periods are reflected in their exegesis, but to the present reviewer at least, an even more interesting thing is the way in which it shows how certain great figures, such as Origen, tower above both their predecessors and their successors. It is a curious fact that there have not been many really great exegetes in the history of the interpretation of Scripture.

The second volume under review, consisting of thirteen studies, sev-

eral of which appeared originally as articles in learned periodicals, is in the nature of a body of appendices to Dr. Schoeps's book, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen, 1949). The studies are one and all concerned with problems belonging, at least in their original form, to that period in early Christianity when the Church had not yet fully worked out its position with reference to its Jewish origins.

The two opening studies are the most important and the most interesting. Both are concerned with that curious body of literature known to us as the Pseudo-Clementines, in which it has been the fashion to see Iranian and Hellenistic influences molding the development of thought in the early Church. The author takes two problems, those of the *Urgeschichte* and of Demonology, and by a minute examination of all the evidence shows that, while there are traces of both Iranian and Hellenistic influence, these are minimal, the doctrine of the Clementines being essentially a development of ideas already there in the Semitic tradition.

In study III, he adduces evidence from the translations of Symmachus to support the suggested Ebionite connection; in study IV, offers a solution of the strange word *ōblias* used of James the brother of the Lord; and, in study X, suggests that Simon Magus, who figures so largely in the Clementines, may also be behind the figures of Ben Stada and Bil'am in the Haggada. The other studies are all concerned with various aspects of the problem the Jewish community had in working out its interpretation of its claim to be the Chosen People after the stunning disaster of A.D. 70 and the subsequent triumphal progress of Christianity, and the problem the Christian community had of establishing its *nova lex* in the teaching of Jesus over against the Torah of the Old Testament, which, of course, it also accepted as of Scriptural revelation. So he discusses the relation of Jesus himself to the Law, the position of Paul as an exegete, the Haggadic treatment of the "call" of Israel, the principles of *Restitutio principii* and of *Imitatio Dei* as these developed in the new community, and what he calls "Gnostic Nihilism" involved in the Antinomianism of some of the sects.

The author has an astonishing command of the Rabbinic sources relevant to the history of this early period, and has demonstrated beyond any question the importance of a study of these sources along

with the Patristic sources, if we are to have any true understanding of the development of early Christian thought.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

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The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation. By EDGAR J. GOODSPEED. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. xi, 321 pp. $3.75.

St. Ambrose On the Sacraments and On the Mysteries. Translated by T. THOMPSON. Edited by J. H. SRAWLEY. London: S.P.C.K.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. vii, 157 pp. 10*s* 6*d*.

Another translation of the Apostolic Fathers would appear to be a work of supererogation after the two recent ones published under Roman Catholic sponsorship—Fr. Kleist's, in the "Ancient Christian Writers" series, and the one in the "Fathers of the Church" library. But a translation by Professor Goodspeed could hardly be thus described. Professor Goodspeed prides himself upon being an "American" translator, and the present volume belongs properly in the series of his "American" translations of the New Testament and the Apocrypha. Will he now go on to give us an "American" translation of the early Apologists, which he edited in the original Greek so long ago as 1914? We hope very much that he will. For there cannot be too many good translations available to the general public of these very important documents. They are necessary for a true understanding of the New Testament itself.

Dr. Goodspeed has not encumbered his translation with learned notes. Indeed, it is one of his principles of translation that the English rendering should of itself be an exegesis of the text. His studied avoidance of technical terms can at times be misleading. For example there is no good reason to substitute "the Thanksgiving" for "the Eucharist." Those who do not know what the Eucharist is would be less likely to understand what "the Thanksgiving" is. Again, he uses "overseers" and "assistants" in the rendering of the Didache, "superintendents" (or "overseers") and "assistants" in I Clement; but in the Ignatian letters he adopts the technical terms of "bishops" and "deacons." Perhaps this is due to his view that "bishops" and "deacons" did not become technical terms until Ignatius; yet in his introductions to the Didache and

to I Clement he employs the technical terms, even going so far as to admit the tradition that Clement "was bishop of Rome from A.D. 88 to 97."

The translation is based on the Funk-Bihlmeyer edition of the text, except for the Shepherd of Hermas, for which Lake's text is used with emended readings from the Michigan papyrus. Dr. Goodspeed does not accept the thesis of Harrison respecting the Epistle of Polycarp (as do both the recent Roman Catholic translators). He follows Funk-Bihlmeyer in including not only the fragments of Papias, but also the Eusebian fragment of the Apology of Quadratus. No reference is made to the recent attempt of Andriessen to assign the Epistle to Diognetus to Quadratus' Apology. In fact, Dr. Goodspeed seems to have some suspicion that Diognetus is really not a genuine ancient Christian work at all, and he detaches chapters 11-12 as belonging to "an Ancient Homily," perhaps by Methodius, Hippolytus or Melito.

Always sensitive to the literary relationships of documents, Dr. Goodspeed notes in his brief introductions to each treatise, not only its basic themes, but also its acquaintance with New Testament books and other documents of the Apostolic Fathers, and its use in later writers. Something of the manuscript tradition of each work is also recorded. The most striking feature, however, is his inclusion of the Latin *Doctrina.* In an article in the *Anglican Theological Review* (XXVIII [1945], 228-247), Dr. Goodspeed showed conclusively that the Greek original of this work was a source of both the Didache and Barnabas. The substance of this article, with the table of parallel passages, has been reproduced in an appendix. Thus the arrangement of documents in the collection is primarily according to literary affinities —a characteristic method of Professor Goodspeed. First comes the group: *Doctrina,* Didache and Barnabas; then the Roman group of writings: I and II Clement and Hermas; then the "Ephesian" collection of Ignatius and Polycarp; and finally the fragments of Papias, Quadratus, and the Epistle to Diognetus.

The only index is a full and complete table of Scriptural quotations and references (both canonical and uncanonical). These are not marked, however, in the body of the translation-text.

The second of these books under review is a new edition of these works published by Dr. Srawley in 1919 as one of the "Translations of

Christian Literature Series," III: *Liturgical Texts*. The translation is virtually the same as that of the first edition, but the introduction has been entirely rewritten and the notes very much expanded and corrected. The occasion for the new edition is the change of Dr. Srawley's views respecting the authorship of the *De Sacramentis* and its literary relationship to the *De Mysteriis*. In the first edition, Dr. Srawley followed the opinion of Duchesne: namely, that the *De Sacramentis* was not by Ambrose, but the work of some unknown North Italian, who was familiar with Ambrose's writings and, in particular, with the *De Mysteriis*, and that it dates from the fifth century.

Now Dr. Srawley has come to accept the opinion of Probst and Dom Morin, propounded as early as the 1890's, and further developed by Dom Morin in an article in the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VIII (1928). Their thesis was taken up afresh by the late Dom Connolly, who published several essays on the subject before his death, and left an unpublished paper (now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) giving more detailed proofs of the Ambrosian authorship of the *De Sacramentis*. Much of Dr. Srawley's new presentation is drawn from Dom Connolly's studies. According to the new view, the *De Sacramentis* is a stenographic report of Ambrose's oral instructions to the newly-baptized during the course of Easter Week. It was not published until after his death, when the *disciplina arcana* had ceased to be practiced. The *De Mysteriis*, however, was published by Ambrose on the basis of his lectures given in *De Sacramentis;* hence it does not betray such secrets as the Canon of the Mass and the Lord's Prayer, which in Ambrose's day were not supposed to be divulged to the uninitiated public. This thesis rests upon a careful analysis of the literary affinities between the *De Sacramentis* and other works of Ambrose, and in particular upon a study of the biblical texts cited in the work and their interpretation. The commentary to the translation has, accordingly, been enriched by many new cross references to the authentic works of Ambrose and other Fathers.

It is a great pity that Dr. Srawley shows no acquaintance with the edition of these two works by J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (Bonn, 1935-37)—a revision of the edition of Rauschen, published in 1909, in *Florilegium Patristicum*. Quasten also accepts the Ambrosian authorship of the *De Sacramentis*, and, in his

text, makes use of certain corrections derived from the manuscript studies of O. Faller. (Dr. Srawley seems to know of Faller's study only in a second-hand way.) Quasten's edition has copious references to patristic parallels regarding the liturgical usages described by Ambrose.

Another curious omission of Dr. Srawley is his overlooking of the interesting study of Theodor Klauser in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati,* I (1946), 467 ff., where Dr. Klauser proposes the thesis that the Canon of the Mass in the *De Sacramentis* is by Ambrose, and that Pope Damasus adopted it for the Roman rite when the Roman liturgy ceased being bilingual to become definitely Latin. Such a suggestion coming from so eminent a liturgiologist as Dr. Klauser deserves some discussion, if only by way of rebuttal. Closely connected with this question is the interpretation of *De Sacramentis* III, 5, where Ambrose notices a difference between his Milanese rite and the Roman rite in respect to the ceremony of foot-washing:

> We are not ignorant that the Roman Church has not this custom. Her type and form we follow in all things; however, she has not this custom of washing the feet. . . . This I say, not to find fault with others, but to recommend my own usage. In all things I desire to follow the Roman Church. Yet we, too, are not without discernment; and what other places have done well to retain, we, too, do well to maintain.

This passage has been taken by Dr. F. Homes Dudden (*The Life and Times of St. Ambrose,* Oxford [1935], II, 706) as strong evidence that the *De Sacramentis* is not an authentic work of Ambrose, for it has no parallel in other writings of the Father. All of this suggests that the solution of the disputed question as to Ambrose's authorship of the *De Sacramentis* may not rest entirely upon literary considerations; but that the larger problem of the relation of the author of the treatise to the Roman Church and to Roman liturgical practices must be weighed and assessed. The section devoted to this problem might well have been expanded by Dr. Srawley in his otherwise excellent introduction. In any case, students are much in his debt for the new edition of what is one of the fundamental sources for the history of liturgy and theology.

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Emanuel Swedenborg: Scientist and Mystic. By Signe Toksvig. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. ix, 389 pp. $5.00.

Emanuel Swedenborg: Naturforscher und Seher. By Ernst Benz. Munich: Hermann Rinn, 1948. 585 pp. DM 16.

The appearance of these two biographies of Swedenborg in the same year is an interesting coincidence, especially since there has been little notice of him in the scholarly world outside of Sweden for more than half a century, and, in his own country he still remains under a cloud, banned as a heretic by his Church in 1770. His rehabilitation as a scientist began in 1902, when a young American, Alfred Stroh, was sent to Stockholm by the New Church to secure phototypes of the unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Academy of Science, and arrange for the publication of the more important ones. This project was carried out with the co-operation of the Royal Academy, with the result that a new star was added to Sweden's galaxy of scientific geniuses. The discovery of Swedenborg's extraordinary scientific achievements, many far in advance of his time, produced a revival of interest in his life. His shift in mid-career from public servant and scientist to theologian and seer presented a problem to be solved before he could take his rightful place in history.

This monumental task was assumed by Professor Martin Lamm, of the University of Stockholm, in his *Swedenborg* (1915), "a study of his development into a mystic and visionary." Professor Lamm regarded this as a normal transition into mysticism, with the usual accompaniments of so-called "abnormal" psychological disturbances, and in no sense an evidence of insanity. But this view was not shared by the varied assortment of medical men, psychiatrists and psychoanalists, who found Swedenborg's *Journal of Dreams* a happy hunting ground for the study of abnormal psychology. The Freudians have been particularly active, producing quite a number of diagnostic studies; the only Jungian attempts, so far as I know, are the two published in this *Review,* in May, 1938, and March, 1946. The Freudians, naturally enough, have unanimously declared Swedenborg insane; the Jungians are not so sure!

Because of his detailed descriptions of life in the "spiritual world," Swedenborg inevitably attracted the notice of spiritualists and students of psychic phenomena. From the early days of the New Church, there have been many spiritualists among his followers, in spite of his ex-

plicit warnings against spirit communication. Nevertheless, spiritualistic phenomena were discussed in American New Church circles as early as 1818 (thirty years before the "Rochester rappings"), and two famous spiritualists, Andrew Jackson Davis and Thomas Lake Harris, were Swedenborgians of sorts. It was certain members of the English Society for Psychical Research who discovered that Swedenborg was actually not a "mystic," but a "psychic." Podmore calls him "the *first* Spiritualist," and Conan Doyle refers to him as a "clairvoyant medium." This approach received its first important expression in Geymuller's *Swedenborg et les Phenomènes Psychiques* (1934), and it is this interest which motivates the book by Signe Toksvig, herself a student of parapsychology, a follower of Gardner Murphy, J. B. Rhine, etc., the pioneers of a new science.

A strictly historical interest in Swedenborg as a man of his own day, standing athwart the eighteenth century, with his formative youth in the baroque romanticism of Sweden's "Era of Greatness," and his old age in the clear rationality of the Enlightenment, has been slow to develop. The biographies by his disciples have kept him pretty much in a vacuum, isolated from the main currents of European thought—as odd a phenomenon as the proverbial fly in amber! His own life, magnificently documented as it is, can be traced almost day by day with remarkable accuracy, and this has been done by faithful and scholarly Swedenborgians, but few have had the general educational equipment to understand him in the context of the science, philosophy, and theology which constitute the background of his thought.

Martin Lamm made an excellent start in this direction in his analysis of Swedenborg as a mystical philosopher in the Neoplatonic tradition, and, in his huge two-volume work, *Upplysningstidens Romantik* (1918), a study in the history of ideas, he placed Swedenborg squarely in the great stream of occultism, having its origin in medieval Cabalism and Renaissance Neoplatonism, and flowing underground through the Enlightenment to emerge again in the full-tide of nineteenth century Romanticism. Swedenborg's place in this current of thought in Germany has now become an object of interest to Ernst Benz, Professor of Church History at Marburg. Beginning in 1940, he has published a series of articles on subjects such as Swedenborg and Lavater, Swedenborg as spiritual pioneer of German Idealism and Romanticism, Kant's Critique of Swedenborg, etc., and now (in 1948), two books, *Sweden-*

borg in Deutschland, and the biography here under review. Professor Benz's training in church history, philosophy, and theology equips him well for such a task.

These two works, Miss Toksvig's and Professor Benz's, present some interesting comparisons and contrasts. Both are works of scholarship (Miss Toksvig's having been written on a Guggenheim grant), but here all resemblance ends. The Toksvig book is bright and breezy, written in an easy, very personal style, entertaining from first to last. It was, avowedly, written for the general public, but, unfortunately, Swedenborg is not a suitable subject for a "popular biography," however desirable it might seem to introduce him to the casual reader who scarcely knows *Swedenborg* from *smörgåsbord.* Her delightful, but somewhat flippant, humor has the effect of diminishing the stature of her hero, and, though the lady doth protest her respect for him almost too earnestly, her tongue-in-cheek attitude is often rather obvious. As one of her New Church reviewers puts it, she treats him "in a very kindly way, with a smiling, tolerant contempt, somewhat like a good-natured nursemaid, explaining away the extraordinary notions of a precocious child." But is must be admitted that this is a genuine *biography,* in its literal sense of a description of a life. Swedenborg does come out clearly as a human being, with faults and foibles, but understandable and lovable. And this is a very real achievement.

But, from the point of view of scholarship, the book leaves a great deal to be desired, due, not to lack of earnest effort, but simply to lack of training in the disciplines essential for such a task. Knut Hagberg, a well-known Swedish scholar, reviewing the book in the *Svenska Dagbladet,* remarks that a biographer of Swedenborg "should have a knowledge of Latin, the history of learning and philosophy, and also of Swedish cultural history and the Swedish universities in his day" (an order large enough to intimidate even the boldest!). He finds that the book's errors are "more and graver than is permissible." And, after pointing out a number of these, he says drily, "One needs to know a little about such matters to write a big book about Swedenborg. . . . If one were to judge the book as an historical romance, one could give it the highest praise."

To the present reviewer, Miss Toksvig's humorously malicious description of Swedenborg's father, Jesper Swedberg, is one of the major irritations. With entire lack of historical conscience, she makes a whip-

ping-boy and clown of one of Sweden's most notable churchmen. It is inconceivable that she could have been so ignorant of the history of the Swedish Church and the very important role of Bishop Swedberg. One is not required to *like* him, but one is forced by the facts to *respect* him! Her lack, also, of even the most elementary understanding of the nature of seventeenth century Christian piety is astounding. What she calls his "bargain" with God "to preach against wordly things" in return for material prosperity, is a complete misunderstanding of the man's passionate belief in his own vocation, combined with overflowing gratitude for the earthly blessings with which he was so richly favored. I think Gunnar Rosendal understood him better when he called him a "steadfast watcher on Sion's walls,"—"large-scale Swede with hot blood, and a humble Christian with a pious heart" (*Rätte Lärare,* p. 92).

But these criticisms, however just, cannot be allowed to stand as a last word on Miss Toksvig's book. Future biographers of Swedenborg will be greatly in her debt for her unique contribution from the viewpoint of parapsychology, her own field of competence. She has given us a fascinating, and often convincing, interpretation of those remarkable psychic gifts which have made Swedenborg a debatable figure. However one may disagree with certain of her conclusions (such, for instance, as her "proof" of multiple spirit possession by means of handwriting analysis), one cannot deny the value of many of her insights. Psychoanalysis has made a valuable contribution to an understanding of this strange man, and now an even younger science, parapsychology, offers its aid. And, for coming to grips with the problem of Swedenborg, we need all the help we can get.

Professor Benz's book is almost a polar opposite of Miss Toksvig's. Only a reader with a deep interest in Swedenborg could dig his way through its 576 pages of heavy academic German. It can hardly be called a *biography,* the quality of *life* being so strangely lacking. And, in fact, only about one fifth of the book is devoted to Swedenborg's life, the rest being taken up with an analysis of his thought. Even in the meager biographical portions the hero never emerges as a flesh-and-blood man, but remains a vague and somewhat disagreeable shade. It is regrettable, too, that Swedenborg's scientific attainments are so skimpily treated—in only about thirty pages. Swedenborg devoted two thirds of his life to science, and it is as a scientist that he has earned his rank of genius.

The great bulk of the book treats of his transition from materialistic philosophy to Neoplatonic mysticism, of his religious crisis (a normal Christian conversion, according to Benz), and the organization of his visionary experiences into a logical system of theology. Professor Benz, who is a great student of the Christian mystics (especially Eckhart, Boehme, and Joachim of Floris), regards Swedenborg as a genuine mystic in the Christian tradition, and a true "Bible Christian" in the Protestant sense.

Here, at last, we see Swedenborg in his proper place in the development of Christian thought, with the sources of many of his ideas clearly revealed. Much of his alleged "unique revelation" disappears, but he gains in stature as a systematic thinker, building a complex theological structure on the solid foundations of the past. Like Thomas Aquinas before him, he used the God-given instrument of human reason in a brilliant attempt to bring the best scientific thought of his time into harmony with biblical revelation. Professor Benz feels that he was carried away by his own logic into an exaggeration of his mission as instrument of the Second Coming in the revelation of the "inner sense of the Word," but why should a prophet be chided for believing in the reality of his message? Professor Benz accuses him of believing, like Muhammad, that he was the "seal of the prophets,"—Swedenborg called himself the "servant of the Lord."

Of course, as an orthodox Christian theologian, Professor Benz cannot accept Swedenborg's revelations as true, even though so many of his "heresies" are now current in liberal Christian thinking (but with no credit given to him!). Thus he finds himself in the perennial dilemma of those who come under the spell of Swedenborg but, though impressed by his genius and confident of his integrity, still find it impossible to accept his dogmas as revelation. Like Emerson before him, he falls back on the expedient of calling him a mystic—a respectable (and respectful) term for those we admire but cannot follow. The mystic's revelation is private; the prophet's public. Thus it is possible, by relegating them to the nebulous sphere of mysticism, to depotentize those difficult and intractable souls who persist in their embarrassing claims to revelation! Being a forthright person, Swedenborg would prefer to have one "take him or leave him," but not to be dismissed as a mystic. That is too easy a way out!

But to do Professor Benz justice, he does recognize the dilemma and

faces it honestly. He correctly traces the Church's misunderstanding and neglect of Swedenborg back to Kant, who dubbed him a lunatic because he claimed to have experience of the transcendental world by means of "internal vision." He ends his book with some interesting observations:

> Protestant theology has accepted Kant's philosophy, but has forgotten to draw from it the conclusion that, since the beginnings of the Church . . . go back to visions of the Risen One . . . the Church must, in accord with Kant, send their evangelists and apostle to the same madhouse that Kant consigned Swedenborg to. . . . Or else, she must attempt to work out a new attitude toward the phenomenon of charismatic gifts displayed by prophets and mystics (p. 575).

She must, in short, follow the lead of Oettinger, who carried on a ten-year correspondence with Swedenborg in an attempt to formulate a "prophetic theology." For, even yet, the Church has no criteria for a proper examination of Swedenborg.

Thus we see how well these two books complement each other: Toksvig gives us a lively, human portrait of Swedenborg; Benz furnishes a learned and careful analysis of his philosophical and theological system. Unfortunately, neither deals with him as a scientist at all adequately. And neither gives us the deep pathos and haunting mystery of the Prophet of the North.

MARGUERITE BLOCK

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A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York. Part V; *The Rectorship of Dr. Morgan Dix.* By JOHN A. DIX and LEICESTER C. LEWIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. xii, 316 pp. $5.00.

Trinity is the largest and wealthiest parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and one of the most venerable. During colonial times it was the only Anglican parish in New York City, and its history is closely linked with that of the community. It has aided many of the younger metropolitan parishes, and, during the period of frontier growth, it contributed to the building of churches throughout the state. Its rectors, besides being made outstanding by their position, have all been men of distinction in their own right. Dr. Dix, an early and stalwart, though never a bigoted, leader of the Anglo-Catholic movement in its Ritualis-

tic phase, was among the most notable members of this distinguished line. As most of his career was spent on the staff of Trinity, of which his father, General John A. Dix, was a vestryman, this book is, in a large measure, his biography, in addition to being a continuation of his monumental history of the parish.

One would like to report that the work is worthy of both its honored subjects, but there is too much unevenness and amateurishness in its composition for such a tribute to be justified. Multiple authorship usually produces an inferior book, and, though only two names appear on the title page, the three prefaces tell us that many others had a hand in the work. The collection of material was begun in 1906 by the Reverend Arthur Lowndes, a distinguished church historian, and continued, after his death, first by Professor Austin B. Keep, historian of the New York Society Library, and, later, by the Reverend B. Talbot Rogers, of the Trinity staff. The notes collected by these three were taken in hand by a committee of the vestry of which the chairman and functioning member was Dr. Dix's son, John A. Dix, the senior warden. Mr. Dix had prepared the first draft of the work when he died, in 1945, and its revision was entrusted to the Reverend Leicester C. Lewis, newly appointed vicar of St. Luke's Chapel, a brilliant theologian but an unreliable historian. He died when the book was in galley-proof, and the final editing was done by the surviving member of the committee, John A. Gade.

Mr. Dix seems to have been a conscientious, if pedestrian, chronicler, and the work probably owes its substance to him. Dr. Lewis was a gifted writer, but he was at a disadvantage, as any author must be in revising another's manuscript. His literary contribution shows itself unevenly. Chapter 3, for instance, which, under the heading of "The Churchmanship of Trinity Parish," undertakes to describe the development of parties in the Anglican Communion, reads as though it came entirely from the pen of Dr. Lewis. It cannot be taken seriously as history, but it is the best written chapter in the book.

Elsewhere the authors justifiably confine themselves mostly to parochial matters, with occasional excursions into personal biography, as in the accounts of Dr. Dix's early career, and of his later travels when on leave of absence. The prominence of the parish and its rector give these topics a more general interest than they would otherwise possess. Unfortunately, the weaknesses of the inexperienced writer and the un-

trained historian frequently show themselves, marring the value and readability of the book. Documents which might better have been summarized are quoted at length. Trivial incidents are related in tedious detail, while more important or interesting events are sometimes presented with annoying incompleteness. In the chapter on the Civil War, for instance, which starts the main narrative, since Dr. Dix's rectorship began then, we are informed that there were organized activities on behalf of the war effort, but we are not told what these activities were.

Similarly, the appearance of Phillips Brooks as a special preacher is introduced with an expression of surprise at a Low Churchman's daring to brave a Trinity congregation, though neither the parish and its rector, on the one hand, nor the preacher, on the other, were so narrow as to make this in the least remarkable, but we are not told anything about the occasion or character of the sermon. An intriguing letter from Bishop Brooks, suggesting that the service might be restricted to men, is also left unexplained. Yet four pages are given to a description of the church doors.

Such weaknesses are common in local histories. If this were the story of St. Minor's Church, in Upper Littletown, the reviewer might commend the authors for having unearthed some useful information, and ignore the crudeness of their presentation, but one feels that Trinity and Dr. Dix deserves something better.

In format this volume conforms admirably to the earlier numbers in the series. Typography and binding are excellent, and reflect credit on the craftmanship of Columbia University Press.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS

The Church Historical Society
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Nicolas Berdyaev, Captive of Freedom. By MATTHEW SPINKA. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950. 220 pp. $3.50.

During his long exile from his native land, Berdyaev became almost the subject of a cult. His numerous works were translated from Russian, especially into English, almost as soon as they appeared, and there are few religious thinkers of the present day who are any better known. Understanding of his ideas is quite another matter, and we can only be grateful to Professor Spinka for undertaking this systematization of

the ideas of the Russian philosopher or "metahistorian," to use his own phrase. On the whole, the author has fulfilled his task satisfactorily and has brought some semblance of order out of the often difficult thought of Berdyaev, even though we may well doubt that this work definitely places Berdyaev in his permanent position in the history of religious thought.

The significant thing about both the life and thought of Berdyaev was his attitude toward authority of any kind. He was never compelled to live under it (pp. 12 f.) and never learned to appreciate it; and in his opposition to it, the supremacy of God over His creations, including man, was as repulsive as the totalitarian police state. It was his effort to abolish this and to retain, at the same time, the fullness of the concept of God that rendered his thoughts confusing and gave the special tinge to his philosophy.

Like many other Russian thinkers, he early came under the spell of the Legend of the Grand Inquisitor of Dostoyevsky, undoubtedly the greatest parable of Christian freedom in all modern literature. At the same time, he strangely did not consider the even more surprising denouement of the story of the sceptical and almost unbelieving Ivan Karamazov, when he makes Christ kiss the Inquisitor at the conclusion of his tirade and then describes how the Inquisitor releases Him but rejects His teaching. He did not notice the strange background of the Legend as the work of Ivan, nor did he find place for the extraordinary Confession of a Blazing Heart, the parallel outpourings of the sensualist Dimitri in the same novel. Berdyaev's universe, then, covered but a small part of Dostoyevsky's, who was troubled by even more of the cursed questions of humanity.

In his emotions and his intellectual methods, Berdyaev was in the Russian tradition, but, for his intellectual content, he was largely dependent upon Boehme and other German mystics, upon Kant and even Karl Marx. This combination of the unintellectual aspects of Orthodoxy and of German thought was a decisive factor in his development, and it is more important for his understanding than even a realization of the difference between the German-Russian and the Anglo-American cultures on which Spinka lays stress (pp. 93 f.).

It led him to his lack of interest in the "masses of ordinary Christians, who, perforce, have to live on a lower level because they are incapable of mystic insight and the ecstatic experience and because their re-

ligious motivation falls short of the maximal" (p. 28). Berdyaev was a thinker's thinker, a spiritual aristocrat, or perhaps even a Fascist of the spiritual world, with the same weaknesses as the Russian bureaucracy or nobility in the material sphere. Despite their obvious differences, Berdyaev, Leo Tolstoy, and Pobyedonostsev had more in common in their fundamental outlook on life than any one of them had with Dostoyevsky, who keenly appreciated the reality of the beauty and the allure in both the Madonna and Sodom.

The kernel of his ideas was his belief in freedom, but this was not the gift of God but an inheritance of man from his meonic origin, and it was something that he could offer to God with his own creativity and thus become a harmonious co-worker with God by offering Him something that man had not received from Him. It is a staggering conception, but it requires little study of such a book as *Slavery and Freedom* to show that it can have little relation to the efforts of the ordinary man to serve Christ and follow in His footsteps. It is the task of the *lichnost* (the personality), the superman, and not the *litso* (the man) to achieve this goal, and Berdyaev's works were aimed at this small group.

He undoubtedly suffered from the ease with which the Russian language can form abstract nouns to denote the essence of the concrete. He was far above the simple statement of fact of "two friends eating at a table." To parody his style, they were "two friend-nesses eat-ness-ing at a table-ness." Yet, as Professor Spinka points out (p. 188), Berdyaev's innate sense of religion and of Christianity would not allow him to reach the logical conclusion of his thought and annihilate all those persons who could not become personalities in his own sense.

There can be no doubt of the greatness and the importance of Berdyaev's work, yet he was not typical of Orthodox thought (p. 85). In his search for the eschatological meaning of the universe, he lacked that contact with the common run of humanity that has marked most of the great saints and theologians. Professor Spinka has done a valuable work in elucidating his thought and his ideas, but he has shown that Berdyaev is far more of an inspiration than a help and guide to better and more truly religious living. He makes us feel that the tragedy of Berdyaev lay rather in himself than in society, and that the hope of Christianity and the world must be found rather in increasing the faith of the ordinary man than in the spinning of newer and ever more esoteric conceptions of the significance of human life, of freedom, and of faith. Perhaps be-

cause of his prison experiences, Dostoyevsky learned the good and the evil of men. Berdyaev was not thus forced into contact with life; his opposition to all authority pushed him further from it and left him an austere thinker buried in his thoughts, even while he attempted to preach to the superior part of mankind. Perhaps it increases his intellectual value, but it reduces his meaning, even for those who can understand him.

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Dogmatics in Outline. By KARL BARTH, Translated by G. T. THOMSON. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. 155 pp. $3.75.

Affirming that "dogmatics is a science," Barth defines science as "an attempt at comprehension and exposition, at investigation and instruction, which is related to a definite object and sphere of activity" (p. 9). The word "attempt" should be borne in mind. Barth defines dogmatics as *"the science in which the Church, in accordance with the state of its knowledge at different times, takes account of the content of its proclamation critically, that is, by the standard of Holy Scripture and under the guidance of its Confessions"* (p. 9, author's italics). The Church's proclamation must be measured by the standard of Holy Scripture as the witness to Jesus Christ, the Word of God in whom God has spoken His Word once for all (pp. 17 f.). The Confessions have a "non-binding" and "relative authority" (p. 13). The lectures published under the title "Dogmatics in Outline" represent Barth's "third attempt" to pursue dogmatics in connection with the "classical form" known as the Apostles' Creed.

Barth observes that apart from the expression "I believe" the Confession "is silent upon the subjective fact of faith" (p. 15). Throughout the lectures, however, the so-called subjective and objective elements are inseparable. Personal decision and fervent witness are conspicuously present in Barth's exposition. *"Christian faith is the gift of the meeting in which men become free to hear the word of grace which God has spoken in Jesus Christ in such a way that, in spite of all that contradicts it, they may once for all, exclusively and entirely, hold to His promise and guidance"* (p. 15, author's italics). "Christian faith must be regarded absolutely as a man's decision, which is made in view of a divine de-

cision" (p. 89; cf. p. 24). Christian faith is not only the God-given freedom to hear and trust and know God's Word; it is also the freedom which is an obligation to be publicly responsible for the confession of the faith, not only in the area and language of the Church (pp. 29 ff.) but also in the theoretical and practical problems of the world (pp. 32 ff.; cf. pp. 146 f.; p. 149). A Church which refuses to "grapple with the problems of the day . . . would *a priori* betake itself to a corner of the graveyard" (p. 34).

Professedly, Barth desires to avoid "theoretical business"; the Bible "is not a philosophical book, but a history book . . ." (p. 38; cf. p. 67). The reader of Barth's *Dogmatics in Outline* may, however, recognize "a very philosophic ring" in some of the presuppositions, terminology, and exposition with reference to such topics (among others) as "God the Father," "God Almighty," and "God the Creator" (pp. 42-58). The God of the Christian faith "is not only unprovable and unsearchable, but also *inconceivable*" (p. 38, author's italics). The importance of Article Two is found in the fact that Christology "is the touchstone of all knowledge of God in the Christian sense . . ." (p. 66). Jesus Christ is *"God's omnipotence, grace and truth in person and therefore the authentic Mediator between God and all other men"* (p. 82, author's italics). Article Two contains "a whole series of pronouncements" about Jesus Christ, beginning with "the miracle of the procreation of Jesus Christ without a father" (p. 99; cf. pp. 95-100).

Suffering is involved in the whole of Jesus' life on earth.

> But the deepest mystery of God is this, that God Himself in the man Jesus does not avoid taking the place of sinful man and being . . . that which man is, a rebel, and bearing the suffering of such a one, to be Himself the entire guilt and the entire reconciliation! That is what God has done in Jesus Christ. This is, to be sure, the utterly hidden element in this life, which first sees the light in the resurrection of Christ (p. 107; cf. pp. 114-120).

"We must not transmute the Resurrection into a spiritual event" (p. 123). It is "a fact which occurred in space and time, as the New Testament describes it" (p. 25). As the resurrected One who ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, Jesus Christ is now "in the place where God is and in the way in which God is" (p. 125). "The grace of God and the omnipotence of God are identical. We must never understand the one without the other" (p. 126).

This identity of God's omnipotence and God's grace involves the missionary mandate as expressed at the end of Matthew's Gospel.

That Jesus Christ has come into the world and accomplished His work is an objective fact whether men believe it or not. But the Confession affirms that "He will issue out of the hiddenness in which He still remains for us today, where He is proclaimed and believed by the Church, where He is present to us only in His Word" (p. 133). At Jesus Christ's coming again for judgment "it will be manifest that God's grace and God's right are the measure by which the whole of humanity and each man will be measured" (p. 135).

The Third Article affirms that the Spirit of Jesus Christ, that is the Holy Spirit, is accomplishing the work of God on earth through "men who belong to Jesus Christ in the special way that they have the freedom to recognize His Word, His work, His message in a definite way and also to hope on their part the best for all men" (p. 138). "But there must be no misunderstanding, . . . the Holy Spirit is not identical with the human spirit, but He meets it" (p. 140). Because we believe in the Holy Spirit "we believe the existence of the Church—which means that we believe each particular congregation to be a congregation of Christ. . . . Consequently, there are in truth not many Churches but but *one* Church in terms of this or that *concrete* one, which should recognize itself as the one Church and in all the others as well" (pp. 142 f., author's italics).

The whence of the Christian is the forgiveness of sins; the whither is the resurrection of the body and eternal life. "Body in the Bible is quite simply man, man, moreover, under the sign of sin, man laid low. And to this man it is said, Thou shalt rise again" (p. 154). Death is "put to death." "In Jesus Christ I am no longer at the point at which I can die; in Him our body is already in heaven . . ." (p. 155).

Appreciation of profound insights and interpretations in this forceful and concise volume is united with the recognition of a number of relevant questions. Barth affirms that, in the mystery of God's inner Being, "all is freedom and all is love" and "this love cannot be understood apart from the majesty of His freedom" (p. 40). In "the freedom of His majesty" the highly exalted God is under no obligation whatever to manifest "unowed kindness" (p. 16), though in His "free work, His condescension" (p. 45) He does manifest His "*free* love" (p. 40, author's italics). There are, however, many believers who find it impossible to

give assent to any interpretation which exalts Divine freedom above the fundamental character of God's Being as Sovereign Holy Love. Interpreting the freedom of God in the light of His Being as Sovereign Holy Love, these believers affirm that God, in fidelity to Himself and to the creation which He has brought into being, is free as the constraining Love revealed in Christ is free, that is *in* the act of giving Himself for all.

One may justly ask whether Barth's doctrine of the Word, presupposed throughout the volume, is in agreement with "the standard of Holy Scripture" which, according to Barth, "has binding authority." Moreover, is this doctrine of the Word in agreement with the Confessions' "non-binding authority," which Barth declares "must be taken seriously"? The question of derivation may also be reasonably asked with reference to Barth's denial of natural revelation. Furthermore, is his "clear" conviction that the God of the Christian Confession "signifies *a priori* the fundamentally Other" (p. 36) based upon objective and exegetical interpretation of the witness of Holy Scripture to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, or is it an imposition of philosophic presuppositions upon Christian faith? If "what is true in God's nature becomes true in time" (p. 45; cf. p. 69), must a supposedly non-philosophic faith in God who is decisively revealed in Jesus Christ, "the Son of God and Son of man, true God and true Man" (p. 17; cf. p. 88) affirm that the word "God" in the Christian Confession "signifies *a priori* the fundamentally Other" who, according to Barth's *a priori* "in no way corresponds to a human disposition and possibility" (p. 37) but, nevertheless, "lets us participate in His nature, in His life and essence" (p. 45)? If, moreover, the unveiled aspect of God decisively revealed in Jesus Christ is homogeneous with that in God which has not been revealed, must one without reservation or qualification subscribe to Barth's italicized dictum that God is *"inconceivable"* (author's italics)? Christian faith affirms that God is unfathomable. Whether or not the words inconceivable and unfathomable are theological synonyms is a matter for the individual believer to consider, if the possibility of being charged with logomachy does not frighten him, and the inquiry will probably not be limited to theology.

In spite of Barth's assurance that "earth is the creation conceivable" (p. 61; cf. p. 62) to man, shall we insist that all human beings and all things earthly are inconceivable because the human creature's "attempt

at comprehension and exposition" (p. 9) does not adequately and exhaustively comprehend or set forth their being and working? Though believing that "all three articles" discussed by him deal with "a nature and work . . . inconceivable to us" (p. 17; cf. p. 46), Barth did not refrain from writing this "human and earthly dogmatics." The fact that human knowledge is "imprisoned within the limits of the creaturely" (p. 24; cf. p. 55) is controlled by Barth's conviction that he is "carrying heavenly treasures in earthen vessels" and that his "relative knowledge" supplies "genuine knowledge" (p. 24; cf. pp. 22 f.) for a theology of the Word as seen by Karl Barth and expressed by Karl Barth with the assurance that he is "saying something about God that is valid, that is true, and true, moreover, in the deepest depths of His nature, true unto all eternity" (p. 43; cf. pp. 40; 99). This assurance is not overcome by the complementary acknowledgement that "Christian dogmatics will always be a thinking, an investigation and an exposition which are relative and liable to error. . . . No more can be required of us than is given to us. And like a servant who is faithful in little, we must not be sorrowful about such little. More than this faithfulness is not required of us" (p. 11).

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Psychotherapy and a Christian View of Man. By DAVID ROBERTS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950, 161 pp. $3.00.

Few books merit such whole-hearted commendation as this. Attitude and performance combine to make it a notable achievement. This is true, not so much because it plows new furrows in pioneering territory as because it harvests skillfully a new crop of insights. Perspective and proportion are difficult to achieve in any advanced field. Here we have a forefront field in which they are combined with a master touch. The hardest aspect of any book to describe is the intangible spirit which it reflects. Here we have a mature wisdom which moves delicately yet firmly from one end of the subject to the other, in so far as it is dealt with, without riding any hobby or revealing any prejudice. Whatever questions I may ask later on, then, cannot undo at all this basic fact that the book, for what it undertakes to do, is constructively wise. The style

of writing is also clear, simple, direct, without ostentation, but with well chosen words and deftly completed constructions. The publishers, too, have provided us with a very atractive set-up of the page which is both easy and pleasant to read. Certainly this book should reach the numerous readers who are interested in this subject.

The first general comment on content must be the observation that here we have a competent analysis of two fields done in a constructive spirit, a model for such joint investigations. One of the crucial questions of today is the relation between theology and social science. Perhaps most social scientists fear the authoritarianism of "the religionists." Perhaps most theologians are rather wary of the present open, or ill-disguised "messianism" of social scientists. Sometimes the social scientists will admit that they need the men of religion to make people want to do what they prescribe, though that attitude hardly characterizes much of the field described in this book. Sometimes "the religionists" may admit that they need the social scientist to clarify issues for concrete social application. In this work, however, we have the sense of genuine co-operation in the search for truth itself within common areas of concern, and this without any minimizing of the distinctive approach and responsibility of each field.

The reason that the work evinces such a constructive approach to collaboration is twofold. Psychotherapy is beginning to come of age. There are many within the field, some in theory and many practicing psychiatrists, who see the need for the larger setting of their work. Psychologism is both a professional and a theoretical temptation of which they themselves are becoming more aware. This is not to say that there have not always been some sensitive to this fact, nor to say that the main line is not still unmindful of the basic need to see its limited field within the total approach to truth and reality, but there has been enough pioneering work on method and relationships for books like this now to find recognition and challenge even where there is dearth of understanding and welcome. On the other side of the picture, we have here a theological attitude which is nearly unique in our modern setting. The author has long been friendly with different types of theological approaches and sampled their ways and fruits. Now he combines, without defensiveness or aggressiveness, the best in the central Christian position. This attitude, coupled with a comprehensive and specialized understanding of the various strands in modern theology, is excep-

tional. Dr. Roberts dulls no sharp edge of any position, nor does he remove artificially the temptation which leads each approach into its particular tangent, but he, rather, moves about within them all with quiet wisdom and sure understanding.

Many reviewers may interpret this book as an attack on the sterility and intemperance of Barthian theology. I doubt that it is anything of the kind. The author does upbraid "neo-orthodoxy" at times, but always with an understanding and modest spirit, which must be particularly hard for one who has been tempted so much by it and has so often been thought to be within this particular position. Dr. Roberts, however, has over the years felt real sympathy for the constructive evenness which he now evinces. His appreciation of the best in liberalism, immanence, the inherent good in man, dynamic growth of selfhood along with all decisions, etc., are not over-and-against the stress on God-centeredness and on radical sin which neo-orthodoxy champions, in any defensive sense. Even where real spiritual newness in actual living is endorsed over-and-beyond the states of tension in life, the theological norm must always be existentially relevant to actual human beings. He is guilty of no false "perfectionism." He also advocates the best in humanism as necessary to a reliable Christian faith, the eternal order being organically connected with this and capable of fulfilling it, but his stress comes to fulfill, not to destroy. Such basic continuity is, to be sure, usually scorned by strong theological currents today, but the spirit in which this is done, the subject in relation to which it is done, and the competence with which it is done should make this analysis appeal to all open-minded thinkers on the subject.

After a careful reading of the book I find so many references marked "mention in the review" that I now find it impossible to engage in any detailed analysis. The book opens with a brief discussion of "the practical considerations which make collaboration between Christianity and psychotherapy both desirable and difficult." The next two chapters introduce the needs which psychotherapy seeks to meet and the way in which it meets them. The chapter on "the development of personal belief" is particularly important, for here one of the insistent questions of our day is answered: how can I pass from theoretical to existential belief? To a good number of people whom I have dealt with, this chapter itself is worth the price of the book, and I think much more, for it deals profoundly and healingly with actual human nature at the point

of its deepest need. The chapters on the image of God and on moralism contain valuable insights within the limits of the purpose of this book. Either a theological or an ethical treatise would, of course, have to dig down into a deeper layer.

The chapter on the bondage to sin has a comprehensive scope and an analytical competence that will clear up many misconceptions for numerous readers. My review copy is marked up with vigorous affirmations and also with a few qualifications, the most serious of which is the leaving of sin too much in the realm of irrationality in the sense of being intrinsically unexplainable. Naturally the category of sin cannot be deduced, or sin cannot be transcribed into some kind of rationality, for the very reason that the nature of sin is itself arbitrary. Dr. Roberts, however, wants to leave it, along with most theologians, as unexplainable in nature. To be sure it is unpredictable; else were it not a culpable abuse of freedom; but it is not unexplainable in the sense that we cannot see why God gave us, with deliberate purpose, a weighting towards ourselves that we might become genuine individuals and that freedom might be real and serious. The why of the existence of sin where freedom is weighted toward self and becomes the natural occasion of sin should be plain to see in line with the sovereignty of a just God. Place this within the ubiquitous and torturous ambiguities of life, social and historical, and the nature of sin, as man's overagainstness with respect to God and others while he learns for himself that God's ways are best for us all, becomes apparent. Dr. Roberts does say that sin is necessary as a possibility in a world where freedom is real, and this, to be sure, is to the good so far. But the fact is that this world is not merely God's better choice than no world at all, but is precisely the kind of world in which he condescends and humbles himself, letting us revolt in our rationalizations and self-justifications in order for us to become mature and genuine in our final choices.

The reason that this fact does not become more clear is that Dr. Roberts has not included any discussion of eschatology, and without that no Christian theology can stand on its own feet. If this world is all there is, Christian theology, by the fact that it offers no solution to the problem of evil which is not an ingenious rationalization, has no right to talk of a sovereign God of love, of any ultimate family relation, or of any saving Christ. Unfortunately these aspects of the Christian faith are lacking in the otherwise wise and mature approach of Dr.

Roberts. Such a God and such a love as ultimate categories involve indivisibly the immemorial Christian faith in eternal life as the fulfillment in the life to come of what is eternal in this life. This omission, or even the failing to come to grips with this question, is a serious lack in this work, and, as Whitehead affirms, we must judge a point of view particularly for what it does not say. Another lack is a realistic discussion of fear in the light of God's creation of this kind of world. Fear has a definite function on every level of life, but always in relation to the fullest level of love. Much discussion in modern theology and education, both theoretically and practically, is lacking at this point. The liberal point of view suffers from a lack of wholeness. This subject invites a more adequate analysis of this point. Perhaps a fuller consideration of process as a whole as God's patient pedagogy would have strengthened Dr. Robert's entire synthesis.

The following two chapters deal with static and dynamic views of salvation respectively. They are both well done. Especially important is his discussion of Agape and Eros, and a dynamic need for their synthesis. Self-acceptance within the total purposes of God and within the actual situation where one is, with power also concretely and relevantly to transcend it and to transform it, is made an essential of a dynamic Christian faith; and so it is. As a matter of fact, the concrete hopefulness of the conclusion, without evasion or sentimentality, is not only a relief from much fear-smitten and man-centered-theology (however much God is *stressed* as central) but is also equally the truth of Christian experience and faith. Flavor statements like these: Christian salvation is constituted by trust in God, inward harmony, and the inter-personal relations which accompany such a condition. Recognition of identity between the redemptive power which is operative in life and what Christ stands for, will lead to assent to the doctrine that He is the Savior of mankind.

The final chapter is an interpretative approach to the relation between psychology and theology which carries to a satisfying conclusion the previous analysis and its presuppositions. In short, the spirit and the performance of this work, both in scholarship and in writing, are of such competence that we shall look forward with high expectation to the future writings of this author.

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BOOK NOTES

Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. Edited by JAMES B. PRITCHARD. Princeton: The Princeton University Press, 1950. xxi, 526 pp. $15.00.

The publication of this magnificent volume of texts, not the first but the best of its kind (H. Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament,* second ed. 1926, and G. A. Barton's *Archaeology and the Bible,* seventh ed. 1937 are its closest predecessors), is an event of great import for students of the Old Testament and for scholars whose interests lie in the Ancient Near East. It will suffice to give the contents of this collection and the names of the translators to realize the wealth of material offered in this book:

I. *Myths, Epics, and Legends:* Egyptian myths, tales, and mortuary texts; Akkadian myths and epics; Hittite myths, epics, and legends; Ugaritic myths, epics, and legends. II. *Legal Texts:* Collections of laws from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor; Egyptian and Hittite treaties; Hittite instructions; Documents from the practice of law; Mesopotamian legal documents; Aramaic papyri from Elephantine. III. *Historical Texts:* Egyptian historical texts; Babylonian and Assyrian historical texts; Hittite historical texts; Palestinian inscriptions. IV. *Rituals, Incantations, and Descriptions of Festivals:* Egyptian rituals and incantations; Akkadian rituals; Hittite rituals, incantations, and description of festival. V. *Hymns and Prayers:* Egyptian hymns and prayers; Sumero-Akkadian hymns and prayers; Hittite prayers. VI. *Didactic and Wisdom Literature.* VII. *Lamentations.* VIII. *Secular Songs and Poems.* IX. *Letters.* X. *Miscellaneous Texts.*

The translators are: W. F. Albright (Palestinian and Mari material); H. L. Ginsberg (Ugaritic and Aramaic material); A. Goetze (Hittite material); S. N. Kramer (Sumerian material); Th. J. Meek, A. L. Oppenheim, R. H. Pfeiffer, A. Sachs, E. A. Speiser, F. J. Stephens (Akkadian material); and J. A. Wilson (Egyptian material). Most of the texts are prefaced by short introductions giving the provenience, date, and previous translations of the given text. At the end are a table of contents listing the texts by language, an index of biblical references, and one of proper and place names.

In the introduction the editor states: "The purpose of this work is to make available to students of the ancient Near East—serious students of the Old Testament, we believe, are necessarily such—the most important extrabiblical texts in translations which represent the best understanding which present-day scholarship has achieved." The happy choice of the texts, the reliability of the translations, and the excellent printing all combine to make this work the best companion volume to the Old Testament itself.[1]

I. M.

1. The reviewer cannot refrain from remarking that Professor Meek's translation of the social term *habiru* as Hebrew (without any explanation) in the two Nuzi slave documents (p. 220[b]) is unfortunate. To a non-cuneiformist the appearance of Hebrew slaves in far-off Nuzi in the 15th century B.C. would indeed be a puzzle.

Forgotten Religions (Including Some Living Primitive Religions), a Symposium. Edited by VERGILIUS FERM. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1950. xv, 392 pp. $7.50.

Every teacher of comparative religion is aware of the great need felt by students on all levels for authoritative books that would enable them to gain an insight into the "forgotten religions." Professor Ferm therefore deserves credit for having tried to fill this need by editing a book containing twenty essays dealing not only with ancient religions, such as those of the Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, Hittites, Canaanites, Persians, etc., but also embracing some living primitive religions, such as the Eskimo and American Indian.

Mercer's contribution "The Religion of Ancient Egypt" is pleasant reading, and, although he glosses over some of the most tantalizing problems (the Aton theology for example), he does present a fairly good picture of this ancient cult. Kramer's "Sumerian Religion" is one of the best essays in the volume. Written by an outstanding and gifted Sumerologist, the contribution is both original in interpretation and excellent in design. The historical introduction is of paramount importance, for without a clear understanding of the background no insight could be gained into the Sumer-Akkadian beliefs which, as the author states, "became to some extent paradigmatic for the faith and creed of the entire ancient Near East." That the Sumerians were not the only ethnic element involved in the creation of what is known as the "Sumerian" civilization has long been suspected. Kramer, of course, does not produce written evidence for his thesis that they were not, but his deductions and reasoning, based on mute archeological material, are eminently plausible. The paper on "Assyro-Babylonian Religion," contributed by Oppenheim, also contains an historical introduction pointing out the economic differences between the irrigation-culture of Southern Babylonia and the rain-culture of Northern Babylonia and Assyria, and their respective influences on the religious beliefs of the two countries. The author is cautious, one feels too much so, in the handling of the vast but erratic material at our disposal. In spite of this, or, perhaps because of it, his brief sketch makes a number of fruitful points which will prove helpful for students of the subject.

Güterbock's essay, containing only twenty-two pages, is a unique exposition of the highly synthesized Hittite religion, with its proto-Hittite and Hurrian elements. His remark that very little can be learned from the available religious texts as to the beliefs of the common people, since these come from royal archives and deal with the official cult of the king, is also applicable, to some extent, to the religious material from other parts of the Ancient Near East. The last article within the purview of the reviewer's own field is "The Religion of the Canaanites," by Gaster. This latest and fascinating child of archeological discoveries in the last two decades is competently treated by the author, who himself has contributed greatly to the elucidation of the Ugaritic texts. The essay is divided into four sections dealing with the general characteristics of the Canaanite religion, the pantheon, ritual, and myths. It is exceedingly well

written, and the author's opinion (see his *Thespis*) as to the ritualistic and dramatic content of Ugaritic mythology is vigorously emphasized.

I. M.

Buddhist Meditation in the Southern School. Theory and Practice for Westerners. By G. CONSTANT LOUNSBERY. Foreword by W. Y. Evans-Wentz. London: Luzac & Company, Ltd. 1950, xvii, 177 pp. 6*s*.

This is a reprint of a book which first came out in England in 1935, followed by an American edition in 1936. Except for a slight rearrangement of the material on the pages, the 1950 edition is no different from that of 1935. The author, who is President of Les Amis du Bouddhisme, Paris, does not here present a study of the practice of Buddhist meditation in its historical development. She has been concerned, rather, to furnish a species of primer, based on principles derived from Pāli literature, for the use of Westerners who regard themselves as Buddhists or who are minded to try this kind of meditation personally. For those outside this circle of readers, the book is little likely to appeal, except as an ordered account of some rather curious processes of auto-suggestion by way of mental concentration.

In plan the book is simple. Part I is made up of seven chapters on the theory of meditation. Part II adds six more on the matter of practice. In the theoretical section Miss Lounsbery has recourse to a pamphlet by Bikkhu Sīlācāra for summarizing the essential ideas of Buddhism, which she sets forth briefly. Other chapters describe concentration as a means of purifying and controlling the mind and make the point that character differences require different kinds of meditation. Most important in this section, however, are the chapters on the subjects of meditation and on the Four Ecstatic States, for these are based on psychological distinctions found in Pāli scholastic literature as expounded by Buddhaghosa, though it must be observed that Miss Lounsbery derives these indirectly through a book on *The Nature of Consciousness,* written in 1930 by Dr. E. H. Rost, an English army surgeon who became a Buddhist in Burma. Forty classical subjects are listed for meditation, though it is recognized that some of these, such as the stages of decomposition of a corpse, dēvas, death, etc. are scarcely suited to the modern Westerner. More appropriate are such attitudes as peace, good-will, compassion, sympathy for all, etc. The Ecstatic States *(Jhānas)* are described according to traditional formulae, though there seems to be some uncertainty whether these blissful experiences are to be cultivated in themselves or simply regarded as spontaneous accompaniments of advance in the art of meditation.

The most puzzling chapter in the whole book is the last one which gives directions for the Meditation Upon Respiration. It is based, apparently, on Sutta 118 of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the eighth chapter of the *Vissudhi-Magga,* the standard scholastic commentary on the Southern Buddhist system. Extracts from both of these are given. Actual analysis, however, is evidently derived from a treatise by Dr. Cassius Pereira embodying results of his personal experience in directing classes of meditation in Ceylon, and from the author's

own observations. There are four stages: counting while taking long and short breaths in and out; conscious following of the course of the breath, etc., the subtleties of which need not here be repeated. Theoretically, all this is supposed to lead to Vipassanā (insight) which is described as "the threshold of the ultramundane plane (lokuttara) because it leads out of the cosmic plane (lokiya) to ineffable and permanent peace." Needless to say, to the uninitiate this is sheer nonsense. None but a convinced Buddhist, accepting unquestioningly the distinctions of an ancient psychology and cosmology, will think this procedure meaningful.

From the standpoint of a student of the History of Religions, Miss Lounsbery's volume leaves something to be desired. It can scarcely be called an objective study, though it does furnish a simplified account of practices found in scattered form in ancient Pālī literature. Schemes of meditation issuing in trance states have played their role in monastic disciplines, but that these should be a pattern for modern Westerners in religious meditation is a gratuitous assumption. Subtleties of introspectional distinction are endless in the literature of religious mysticism, but attainment of serenity and peace of mind do not necessarily depend on any one set of their historic forms.

CLARENCE H. HAMILTON

Yatīndramatadīpikā. By ŚRĪNIVĀSADĀSA. Madras: The Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1949. xlii, 242 pp. Rs. 5.

The publication of the text of this important work dealing with the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja is important, as it fills a gap in available works of this school. With the text the author, Svāmī Ādidevānanda, supplies a close translation of the text, an extensive introduction, and fifty pages of notes. He has made use of three published editions of the original. The *Yatīndramatadīpikā* is a simple manual which "may be said to have no parallel among works of its class in the system." It is an elementary treatise on the fundamental doctrines of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, who give God, souls, and matter each reality and significance and, at the same time, make them inseparable, having their being in Brahma.

Viśiṣṭādvaita offers a theistic ideal which affirms the existence of the Supreme Person and consistently interprets our experience as a whole so as to account for the oneness of the world. Īśvara is an actually existent reality who embraces and comprehends all individual selves and the world of matter—not as isolated entities—but as intimately related to one another in an organic manner, and thus forming a perfect and coherent unit (pp. xxvii f.).

GEORGE W. BRIGGS

Stotraratna. By ŚRĪ YĀMUNĀCARYA. Madras: Sri Ramskrishna Math, 1950. ix. 75 pp. As. 12.

The original poems describe the beauty of Krishna as recorded in the Purāṇas, in penitential praise and humility. The writings of the Ālvārs and

Āchāryas produced a profound impression upon the religious life of South India, and their influence extended far and wide. Under later teachers the influence may be seen, for example, in Kabīr and in the *Bānis* of other disciples of Rāmānda in the North. These prose translations by Svāmī Ādidevānanda fail to reproduce the devotional religious fervor of the original.

GEORGE W. BRIGGS

Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels. Edited and translated by KURT GALLING, in conjunction with ELMAR EDEL and EUGENE L. RAPP. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950. vi, 90 pp. Maps. DM 8.40.

What has been done in grand style by the recent volume of *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, published by the Princeton University Press, is presented in more modest form in this accurate and excellently printed little book, which is the latest addition to Mohr's collection of *Literatur zum Alten Testament*. Students are constantly being told in class and in Seminar how important the epigraphic material from the ancient Near East is for illustrating the biblical narratives, and yet access to this material is often unusually difficult for students, who do not always have easily available the monographs, journals, and proceedings of learned societies in which it has been published. Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* assembled a great deal of illustrative material of this kind, and has been widely used by students in all countries, but many things have been discovered since Gressmann's day, and many of the translations made for his volume are no longer adequate. In any case, his book is out of print and unprocurable, so that this new volume will be sure of a welcome.

Kurt Galling's work is somewhat wider in scope than its predecessor, but at the same time more modest in size, for it confines itself to fifty-seven selections, some of them quite short. The selections range from the twentieth century B.C. to the third century A.D., and endeavor to make accessible to the student the more important documents in Egyptian, Akkadian, Canaanitish, Aramaic, and even some in Greek, which have light to throw on the narratives or the text of the Bible. The Greek and Aramaic texts are printed in the original, but new translations have been made of all the other material, the Egyptian texts by Dr. Edel, the Akkadian by Dr. Rapp, and the rest by the Editor himself. In every case references are given to the sources in which the texts concerned may be found, and to other translations and discussions of the material which may be useful to the student. Person and place names are identified in footnotes, which also record textual variants and give brief explanatory remarks where these seem necessary.

Every reviewer will probably complain that the editor has left out texts he would have desired to see included, and has included others he would willingly have omitted, but it is, nevertheless, a good and useful collection of material excellently presented. It includes the story of Sinhue, the journey of Wen Ammon, the account of the seige of Megiddo, some of the Amarna letters,

Merneptah's song of victory, the inscriptions of Ahiram and Mesha, some of the Samarian ostraca, a selection of late Assyrian texts concerning Palestine, the Siloam inscription, some of the Lachish ostraca, texts from the Persian and Greek periods from the ossuaries, and from some of the early synagogues —to mention only some of the more interesting selections. In a socket at the end is a folding sheet containing four black-and-white maps, with a key to identify all the place-names mentioned in the texts. The translations, where we have checked them, are clear and accurate, so that they may be used with confidence, and, at the price at which the *Textbuch* is issued, it can be and should be in the hands of every biblical student.

A. J.

How Came Our Faith. A Study of the Religion of Israel and its Significance for the Modern World. By W. A. L. Elmslie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1949. xii, 407 pp. $3.25.

If Part I, dealing with the significance of the Old Testament today, had been omitted, Professor Elmslie would presumably not have written this book. "Its claim is that in the course of Hebrew history beliefs were attained—attained in an extraordinary way—that are in essence eternally valid, that speak to the heart of our manifold anxieties and fundamentally concern right understanding of the Christian Faith and its presentation in the modern world. . . . Its subject is profoundly relevant to present issues, social and personal" (Preface, p. ix). Yet if this part had been omitted, leaving chapter 2, a survey of the modern methods of study of the Old Testament in the light of archeology, comparative religion, and literary criticism as a preface to Parts II and III, the book would have been improved enormously. For the bulk of Part I consists of a very naïve, passionate, and prejudiced assertion of Protestant Christianity as the only legitimate heir to whatever there may be of present value in the Old Testament, and an equally naïve, passionate and prejudiced assertion that virtually all our present social and personal problems are soluble by the application of the principles which are to be found in the prophetic writings in the Old Testament.

Once Elmslie has this inconsequential homiletic material out of his system, the remaining sections of the book are excellent. The second part, on "The Religion of the Hebrews," uses the materials recently provided by archeology and epigraphy, as well as a wide variety of sources in comparative religion. It argues for the currency, in the days before the Babylonian Exile, of a popular Israelitish religion, traces of which remain in the biblical text, of an order little, if at all, higher than the religions of surrounding peoples. In particular, the author points to the similarity of the God-concept, the "jehovah," of the religion of the Hebrews and that of neighboring religions. Thus, Elmslie sees, as do many others in our day, a sharp change, revolutionary in its impact, between the religion of the Hebrews and Judaism.

Modern Judaism and Christianity "did not come to us from the popular religion of the Hebrews" (p. 179). Elmslie believes that they come, rather,

from a strain of thought which, developed by Moses, existed as a substratum in pre-Exilic days in Canaan and came to its fruition in the Prophets. He maintains the interesting hypothesis that this prophetic strain of concern with ethical ideals persisted through the dark days before the Prophets in the lives and thought of several different groups of the Israelitish people, whose existence he finds established by a careful reading of Scripture. But all of these groups together would not have been enough; "collectively these deterrents do not constitute even what might be called 'a resistance movement' " (p. 190). Eight "Supreme Prophets" make up the true bridge spanning the period of degeneration of the popular religion—Moses, Samuel, Elijah, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and "a Poet-Prophet of the sixth or fifth century B.C. whose name is unknown and whose utterances are recorded in the latter part of the Book of Isaiah" (p. 191). Each of these established "*one* cardinal principle of belief concerning Supernatural Reality and the consequent nature of human duty" (pp. 191 f.). These eight principles are the foundations of Judaism and Christianity; for Elmslie they are as valid now as they were then, and the point of the homily in Part I.

J. L. B.

The New Testament Doctrine of the 'Last Things.' By H. A. Guy. London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1949. ix, 189 pp. $3.00.

It is refreshing to read a biblical study produced by a non-specialist and yet presenting a high degree of accuracy, insight and nuance. Mr. Guy is Divinity Master of Taunton's School in Southampton, and he has written for the ordinary layman on a subject which is deservedly more and more the concern of our age. Noting correctly that the early church lived in the expectation of God's kingdom and that all the books of the New Testament (except Philemon and III John) were composed in an atmosphere of eschatological fever, the author studies in turn the Jewish thought on the "last things" and the relevant teachings of the Synoptics, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, Hebrew, Revelation, and the Johannine Writings. He is well informed of the results of neo-testamentary research, and his concise and incisive analyses of the various views will prove valuable to elementary students. Particularly useful is a well-balanced appraisal of Schweitzer's and Dodd's interpretations.

Samuel Terrien

Easter: Its Story and Meaning. By Alan W. Watts. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. 128 pp. $2.50.

This is a deceptive little book. It can be easily dismissed as a popular and sketchy little affair in which the cream of more serious study is skimmed. It can be read at a sitting. It presupposes no erudition on the part of the reader —not even a knowledge of the gospel stories which for many Christians comprise both the "story and meaning" of this chief Christian festival.

But it is much more than this. In addition to a pleasant discussion of Easter

eggs and the reason for the donning of new hats and other finery, there is another note for those who have ears to hear. No one reasonably expert in this field of history will find anything in the book which he did not already know; yet the way the material is presented will likely hold his attention—at least it did mine—and lead to further thought. In an amazingly succinct and pointed way, the author presents the Easter story not as a new and unique Christian phenomenon but as part of the ageless drama of death and rebirth, hoary with age before the occurrence of the events which today often seem the starting point. And he does it without the aid of homiletics.

The frank but disarming initial discussion of myth—what it is and what it is not—though very brief, is profoundly true and deserves wide attention. In the truest sense of the word, the story of Christ is far more myth than history. While this little book does not attempt to treat in any detail the critical questions surrounding the Christian resurrection stories, it provides an admirable prolegomenon to such a study. In the author's own words, "This purpose is to tell the stories of the great religious festivals, not to arrive at historical judgments about them." Few will deny that this is a proper beginning.

The story is clearly and unpretentiously told—the writer of the blurb is justified in his phrase "in fresh, lucid prose"—and in addition is attractively illustrated with pen-and-ink sketches of the several Easter symbols and reproductions of seven famous paintings. The layman may read it with the confidence that if he goes on to a more detailed study, he will not need to unlearn what he herein has read; the more expert reader will likely find in a very familiar narrative an occasional stimulus to a bit of rethinking of some of his own conclusions.

This volume is one in the *Great Religious Festival Series*. Earlier studies in this series treat the story of Christmas, the Passover, and Thanksgiving.

MORTON S. ENSLIN

The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century. By CHARLES C. BAYLEY. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1949. 237 pp. $4.00.

Dr. Bayley has made here a minute and competent study of the crisis of thirteenth century Germany culminating in the double imperial election of 1257. The importance of Innocent III's decretal *Venerabilem* (1202), with its doctrine of *translatio imperii*, for the fixation of the curial theory of political power is a feature of the interpretation the author gives to the highly complex data examined.

J. T. M.

The Idea of Usury. By BENJAMIN N. NELSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. (No. 3. History of Ideas Series.) xxi, 258 pp. $3.00.

Mr. Nelson has set himself to test at one point Weber's famous thesis that Protestantism and notably Calvinism contributed to the rise of the spirit of

capitalism. The point chosen for investigation is the theory and practice of usury. The contention is that Protestantism in the sixteenth century did more than the Catholicism of the same period to abrogate the traditional prohibition on usury, because, whereas the Catholics attenuated the medieval view by casuistry, the Protestants frankly rejected the authorities. Of these there were two: Deuteronomy and Aristotle. The first enjoined that interest should not be exacted from a fellow Jew, though it might be demanded of the non-Jew. Then, when the Church came to regard itself as the new Israel of God, the commandment was interpreted as a prohibition on the taking of interest from fellow Christians. Aristotle taught the sterility of money, so that to require the return of more than the original loan was taking advantage of the borrower's extremities. These two authorities were repudiated by the Protestant reformers. Deuteronomy was first demolished by Luther, who declared that the law of Moses is the Jewish *Sachsenspiegel,* that is, the local law of the Jewish state. It is not of universal validity, and Christians are at liberty to settle the question of usury in accord with equity and Christian love. Calvin took the second step and refuted the Aristotelian theory of money. Here, then, was a great watershed with regard to one of the important ingredients in the capitalist economy and in the rise of the spirit of capitalism, because limited brotherhood was replaced by universal otherhood. The tribal inequality of Judaism was overcome, not by applying to all men the code for the brother, but rather the code for the other.

The factual contentions of the book are abundantly documented and fortified through extensive erudition. Whatever one think of the thesis, a reading of the work is bound to be highly informative. But the thesis in my judgment is mistaken, because of the faulty initial assumption, which is that what counts most is the attitude to the authorities. My contention would be that the ethic is much more important than the authorities on which it was based. If the Catholics, while retaining the authorities, emasculated the ethic by casuistry, whereas the Protestants, in rejecting the authorities, retained the ethic, then the great innovation lies on the Catholic side. And that is what happened. To understand the process one must begin with the view of Thomas Aquinas as to the legitimacy of usury. He did not object to a contract of mutual risk, but only to a contract of fixed return whereby a stipulated interest must be paid on a given date, even though the enterprise had not prospered and the ships of Antonio were on the rocks. This was the ethic which broke down alike in theory and practice among the Catholic theologians of the age of the Renaissance. The so-called triple contract was originated as a smooth device for changing gears from the contract of mutual risk to the contract of fixed return. The first contract is that of mutual risk. The second accepts a reduction in profit in return for a small fixed return. The third relinquishes any claim to profit in view of a higher fixed return. By this casuistry the Thomistic ethic was wrecked, whatever lip service may have been paid to Deuteronomy or Aristotle.

But Luther, while rejecting Deuteronomy and allowing interest up to five per cent in case of the aged or infirm with no other means of livelihood, yet

added the stipulation that the borrower should not have lost on the transaction. What, after all, was this if not the Thomistic ethic of mutual risk weighted in the interest of the debtor, who should receive nothing if the venture had failed, and, in any case, not more than five per cent if it had succeeded? Calvin likewise made the same stipulation that the venture must have profited. The principles of equity and Christian love made both Luther and Calvin even more the foes of usury than Thomas Aquinas. The responsibility for the disintegration of the medieval economic theory is to be placed at the door of the Renaissance Catholic casuists.

R. H. B.

Conrad Grebel, the Founder of the Swiss Brethren. Edited by H. S. Bender. (Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History I.) Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, 1950, xvi, 326 pp. $3.50.

Conrad Grebel, founder of the Anabaptist movement, is a little known figure. His untimely death prevented him from attaining a place of prominence among the Anabaptists, who alone had any concern to remember him. That so much can now be known as Bender has assembled is at once a testimony to unremitting diligence and a witness to the rich veins in European archives open to those with a will to quarry. This study is as much an investigation of the origins of Anabaptism as it is a biography of Grebel. All of the influences which might have played upon him or are supposed to have affected him are carefully explored, in order the better to understand the genesis and the genius of the Anabaptist movement.

First among the presumed spiritual forbears comes Erasmus. He is written off by Bender as unlikely or, at any rate, as only indirect in his influence. Personal contact can be definitely excluded. How much of Erasmus Grebel may have read cannot be determined. But the positions of the two men were different. Erasmus espoused an ethical, humanitarian, non-dogmatic Christianity. Grebel was an undeviating disciple of the Word of God. His position was precisely that of the earlier Zwingli. If, then, any Erasmian influence on Grebel is to be assumed, it was mainly indirect as mediated through Zwingli.

At this point one could wish that the problem had been set up a trifle differently. The question is not whether the entire outlook of Erasmus was appropriated by Grebel and the Anabaptists, but whether at certain specific points there may have been an influence. One is considered, namely pacifism, and the conclusion is that the varieties differed. That of Erasmus was humanitarian, that of Grebel biblical. Two other significant points might have been considered. The first is the idea of the *Restitutio,* that is, the restoration of primitive Christianity. Erasmus frequently reproached the church of his day by an appeal to Christian antiquity. Zwingli, of course, went beyond him here, and again one may have to conclude that an Erasmian influence if valid was only indirect. The other point is with regard to the Erasmian emphasis on inwardness in religion, which could readily lead to a repudiation of external aids

in worship such as music, art, and the sacraments. So far Erasmus himself would not go because deterred by the authority of the Church, but such conclusions were drawn in varying degrees by Carlstadt and Zwingli. Once again the line from Erasmus to Grebel may well have been circuitous.

Then the role of Carlstadt is considered. In this case, personal contact is demonstrable and, certainly, in many respects a similarity of ideas. Direct borrowing need not, however, be assumed. The most controversial question is the relation of Grebel and his group to Thomas Muentzer. They are known to have sent him a letter of appreciation, and the claim early arose of direct acquaintance. This latter assertion Bender disposes of completely. The appreciation of Muentzer's ideas was based on his earlier writings before he turned revolutionary, and the Swiss group, on learning of his alteration, promptly repudiated his stand. Finally, Bender seriously inquires whether, after all, the main influence upon Grebel may not have been the Bible itself.

The book then turns to the elaboration of Grebel's ideas and to his break with Zwingli. The controversy centered on the theory of the Church. Grebel became a convert to the idea of the gathered church. Zwingli retained the concept of the parish church coterminous with a given locality and allied with the state.

The work is thorough, meticulously documented and judiciously executed.

R. H. B.

Introductorium Theologicum. By Åke Andrén. (No. 23 in *Samlingar och Studier till Svenska Kyrkans Historia.)* Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1950. 235 pp. Kr. 10:—.

In the Royal Library at Stockholm is an undated manuscript of 78 pages, with the title, "Introductorium theologicum pro scholasticis et concionatoribus, qui aegrotos et periculose decumbentes visitare atque concionari incipiunt." It appears to be a sort of handbook for one entering on the work of preaching and the pastoral ministry. Homiletic and liturgical in nature, it builds on pre-Reformation models but is written under the influence of the Swedish and German Reformation. The author of this study has made a most painstaking effort to relate the contents to possible sources, and to find date and locale of authorship. He comes to the conclusion that the original—for the present manuscript is a copy—appeared around 1539-40, and that the Swedish Archbishop Laurentius Petri had something to do with its production. The copy is probably from the last decade of the sixteenth century. From about the same time there is evidence of a Swedish translation of the Latin.

The manuscript is of interest in the context of the events of the Swedish Reformation, especially in the transition period from a Roman Catholic to a Lutheran form of liturgy, preaching, and pastoral care. Andrén has given us a model of research in relating this document to its context in the story of the Swedish Reformation.

Conrad Bergendoff

Introduction to the Devout Life. By St. Francis de Sales. Translated and edited by John K. Ryan. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. xxix, 256 pp. $3.00.

Many readers will welcome this attempt at a complete and accurate English rendition of a spiritual classic composed in masterly French prose three and a half centuries ago. Such current reader interest can be expected not only because the Introduction has had a continuing fascination for readers in twenty-four languages despite the poor quality of many previous editions; this volume commends itself also because the text is based on the definitive Annecy edition in French, and upon the traditional translations of John Yaworth and the English priests of Tourney College. We have, then, an adequate presentation of the Saint's thoughts in effective modern English, attractively printed and bound.

Such features, of course, will be altogether unimpressive to other readers, whose indifference will keep the Introduction behind "The Imitation of Christ," in second place as contender for "the most popular devotional book to come out of Christianity." Contemporaries may find unuseful the Saint's advice to persons seeking sanctity in a world so changed from seventeenth century Europe. In those days pious souls gladly welcomed all the chapters divided into (1) considerations calculated to evince a full resolution to embrace the devout life; (2) instructions for elevating the soul to God by prayer and the Sacraments; (3) directions concerning the practice of virtues; (4) counsels against the most usual temptations and (5) exercises to confirm the soul in devotion. Each of these parts subdivided thoroughly into fitting meditations, presented with many classical allusions and all the charm of "the Saint of Gentleness," won such wide interest at first publication that, within the Saint's lifetime, his Introduction had been translated into the principal European languages. Its influence on the spiritual formation of the Roman Catholic laity since 1608 is incalculable.

Still there remains doubt that current Christians will be as deeply helped by the Introduction. From this book only, St. Francis de Sales might be classified as a "saver of souls" rather than "a builder of the Kingdom." His references to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass lack social awareness, so emphasized in the liturgical revival. Meditation topics he suggests for attendance at Mass appear to isolate the individual from the Community at Prayer. For the modern reader, St. Francis' directions about the reception of Holy Communion and frequentation of Holy Communion and Penance are too formalized and forbidding. We would also find objectionable his suggestion that the sanctity of marriage repairs the damage received in sexual pleasure. He seems in one place to suggest that all sexual experience in and out of marriage is "impure pleasure" (p. 106). Yet on another page (p. 169) the Saint writes, "In truth, nuptial commerce which is so holy, just and commendable in itself and most profitable to the commonwealth, is yet in certain cases dangerous to those who exercise it." Currently, we see perhaps more clearly than seventeenth century Christians

that parts and functions of the human body are not to be classified as *honestae* and *minus honestae*.

Especially readable and useful to contemporaries may be the fourth part, which discusses psychological states in relation to temptations. Once captivated by the Saint's sound directions in this area, one might be lead to seek an orderly arrangement of living around Newman's "two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings—myself and my creator." The Introduction then may serve as brilliantly as in the past.

JOHN K. DALY

Poems by Christopher Smart. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by ROBERT BRITTAIN. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950. viii, 326 pp. $4.00.

In this beautifully printed and meticulously edited volume, Mr. Brittain gives us all the intrinsically important poetry of Christopher Smart, together with an adequate sampling of his hackwork and of biographically interesting occasional pieces. The balance between scholarly inclusiveness and critical selectivity has been adroitly maintained.

Even by persons well versed in the eighteenth century, Smart is often described as a bibulous pseudoclassical hackwriter who went mad and unaccountably wrote *A Song to David,* the most powerful religious lyric between Traherne and Blake. This ignorance was partially alleviated in 1939 when William Force Stead edited, under the title *Rejoice in the Lamb,* Smart's pathetically disordered but often very beautiful madhouse meditations. But there remained the need to show that *A Song to David* is no shapeless outpouring of eccentric enthusiasm, but an exquisitely controlled work of art; and that far from being incongruous with the rest of Smart's work, it is simply the finest example of a valuable body of religious poetry which displays the same general characteristics.

This task has been admirably performed by Mr. Brittain. In addition to the text, he provides a biographico-critical Introduction of seventy-four pages which leaves almost nothing to be desired as regards knowledge of Smart's life, appreciation of his poetry, and understanding of his religious thought and feeling. The informative and interpretative notes which follow the text are of equally high quality. Especially outstanding is the analysis of *A Song to David.*

On two points, both of them matters of opinion rather than of fact, the present reviewer would qualify his praise. In his efforts to establish the homogeneity of Smart's work, Mr. Brittain becomes perhaps excessively generous in praise of the poems other than *A Song to David.* One may grant that Smart wrote a considerable number of good religious poems and yet insist that only one of them deserves to be called "great." In aesthetic accomplishment, though not in religious feeling, the *Song* remains radically incommensurable with all the rest. One may also complain of Mr. Brittain's rearrangement of certain portions of *Rejoice in the Lamb* in order to give them more coherence. There is a gain in readability, but what the editor gives us is not what Smart actually

wrote. With these debatable exceptions, this edition deserves the highest praise. It will be of interest not only to eighteenth-century scholars but to all students of religious poetry.

HOXIE N. FAIRCHILD

Kyrkoliv och samhällsklass i Sverige omkring 1880. En kyrkohistorisk-sociologisk undersökning. By BERNDT GUSTAFSSON. *(Samlingar och studier till svenska kyrkans historia.)* Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1950. 242 pp. Kr. 9.

Kyrkoliv och samhällsklass i Sverige omkring 1880 is a study of social class distinctions as found within the Church of Sweden around 1880. The work was undoubtedly prompted by a growing interest in the origin and growth of the labor movement and its rise to political power. Socialism expressed itself in Sweden as elsewhere in a hostile attitude toward the church. The reasons for this hostility were numerous. Perhaps one of them was the existence within the church of marked class distinctions particulary noticeable in the system of seating people at services and at all the varied functions of the church such as burials, tolling for the dead, baptisms, and weddings. While class distinctions were often very marked at the functions and services of the church, these were based upon economic and political distinctions recognized in the common everyday life of the parish. But no such social distinctions were to be found in the organizations of dissenters, which largely recruited their followers from the same economic and political group. This situation undoubtedly made more evident the existence of social class stratification at functions of the State Church and intensified the ill-will toward it.

The author tries to maintain a sense of objectivity, though his point is very clear. The practices within the Church of Sweden were in many instances very, very old and reflected at almost all times the social customs of the age. As these customs changed or varied from one province to another, or from an urban area to a rural area, so did these variations reflect themselves in the functions and customs of the church. The objectivity of the author is commendable, but his study would have been more exciting if he had related his findings to the growing dissatisfaction with the Established Church. In reality, he is dealing with a major tragedy—the church as essentially the mirror of social practices, an agency for the status quo, and not a force in changing customs.

Mr. Gustafsson's bibliography seems pertinent to the topic. He has also included a table of contents, a number of illustrations, particularly maps and diagrams, a foreword, but no index.

O. FRITIOF ANDER

Den Thomander-Wieselgranska Psalmboken. By ALLAN ARVASTSON. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1949. xxx, 318 pp. Kr. 12:50.

This volume (No. 21 in the series *Samlingar och Studier till Svenska Kyrkans Historia,* edited by Hilding Pleijel), dealing with a single hymnal and its history, is of primary interest to the hymnologist; however, since the

genius of a church body, and also its history, is reflected through its cultus, the study has a much wider value than its title might suggest. It is excellently written and fully documented.

Johan Olof Wallin, who became Archbishop of Sweden, ranks as the nation's greatest hymn-writer. The fact that so many of his psalms have been rendered into English (and other languages), has spread his fame far beyond the land to which he bequeathed such a rich spiritual and cultural heritage. In 1819, the King of Sweden accepted and approved the hymnal which he had edited, called the "Wallin Psalmbook." Treasured and beloved as this Psalmbook came to be—very genuinely a book of the people—it is interesting to read in Arvastson's work of the difficulties which it encountered immediately following its publication. The opposition came from several sources: from those who desired to continue with the 1695 Psalmbook, from the pietistic, and from those who recognized its general merit and yet objected to passages which they considered Pelagian or semi-Pelagian. That the Wallin Psalmbook had worth and vitality is proved by the fact that it continued as an official book of the State Church for more than a century.

The most interesting chapter is that dealing with the acceptance of this hymnal in the Augustana Lutheran Church, which is a real contribution to the history of that body. It gives a clear picture of the situation which the pioneer Swedish pastors faced with regard to the worship-life of their young communion. In 1878, the Augustana Lutheran Church (then called the Augustana Synod) officially adopted the Thomander-Wieselgren edition of the Swedish Psalmbook, and it continued in use in Augustana parishes until the use of the Swedish language died out. I am of the opinion that the majority of the church-goers in this body never realized that it was *not* the official hymnal of the mother church from whence they came.

Arvastson also gives interesting material on hymnals compiled and published by the Augustana Lutheran Church. Tufve Nilsson Hasselquist, the Augustana pioneer, published *Femtio Andliga Sånger* (Fifty Spiritual Songs) as early as 1856. *Hemlandssånger* (Songs of the Homeland), like the former drawn from free-churchly sources, was published in 1860. The free religious song, represented by this collection "was to give an enduring color to the religious life of the Augustana Synod."

The final chapter in the dissertation gives an analysis of the actual changes made in Wallin's work by Thomander and Wieselgren. If the Swedish people sing with as much gusto as was shown in the debate on the psalmbook matter, methinks there must be powerful congregational singing over there!

The chapter which deals specifically with the Augustana Lutheran Church might well prove to be a foundational study for a longer work on a topic such as "Liturgy and Immigration: Studies in the Worship Life of the Augustana Lutheran Church." Scholars from across the seas have given an impetus for this work; it is to be hoped that scholars here at home will also see the need and value of such research.

EVALD B. LAWSON

Die Ostkirche und die russische Christenheit. Edited by Ernst Benz. Tübingen: Furche Verlag, 1949. 176 pp. D.M. 5.80.

The articles in this volume are written from the standpoint of German Protestanism of an ecumenical way of thinking and are very interesting reading. There is, unfortunately, considerable repetition in the method of presentation of the various subjects and, at times, especially in the first chapter, on Church and State in Russia, tendency to schematization. In many ways the book covers more or less familiar ground, but the articles by Professor Benz on human value and human rights in the spiritual history of the Eastern Church, and on the Russian Church and Western Christianity, contain much valuable material. His history of the expansion of Christianity throughout the Russian Empire and the sections on the Protestant influences in Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are excellent summaries of data rarely accessible in any one place. The final chapter, "On the Essence of the Eastern Church Liturgy," by Professor Rudolf Schneider, is also an admirable exposition of the spirit of the East. There are few books published in English which will give as much information presented sympathetically and understandingly.

C. A. M.

The Universe as Symbols and Signs. An Essay on Mysticism in the Eastern Church. By Nicholai D. Velimirovich. Libertyville, Illinois: Serbian St. Sava Monastery, 1950. 64 pp. $1.00.

This little book by one of the foremost thinkers and scholars of the Orthodox Church more than fulfills the promises of the author. At first sight it may seem to be little more than a listing of the various symbols employed in the Old and New Testaments, but Bishop Nicholai has done far more than that. He has set these against the background of Orthodox thought in regard to the entire universe.

His philosophy is clear and represents that acceptance of the material universe coupled with an appreciation of the spiritual realities which was so outstanding a feature of the scientific and religious work of the late Professor Michael Pupin. The author stands in sharp contrast both to the materialistic interpretation of nature and also to the nihilistic denial of material reality as found in the Oriental non-Christian religions. Avoiding a fruitless discussion of those problems which are definitely beyond human understanding, Bishop Nicholai turns away from the examination of those elements of the power of God that are back of the material universe, whether conceived in terms of the ancient elements or modern atoms, to a consideration of the universe as a bearer of the message of God to man, of the symbols and the signs that man can draw from the universe, if he will but let himself be led by the Holy Spirit. His last paragraph is the culmination of the argument commenced in the introduction: "Who knows whether searching for the substance of things has ever made a man better? It is doubtful indeed. But it is well known, that a

knowledge of the significance of things and events has made innumerable souls more enlightened, better and happier."

There is a refreshing mystical sanity about the entire book which can only make us wish for more works from the same author and from other Orthodox thinkers of his school. Science and the spiritual life in harmony fall into their proper places and conflict only where one or the other deliberately leaves its appointed sphere. It is because of this attitude and his clear and simple style that we hope that Bishop Nicholai will be able for many years to continue his work and receive due recognition, not only from the Orthodox but from the entire American religious world.

C. A. M.

Sacraments, Signs, and Symbols, with Essays on Related Topics. By W. Norman Pittenger. Chicago: Wilcox & Follett, 1949. xi, 162 pp. $2.00.

For all its modesty of size and simplicity of style, this is a piece of distinguished theological writing. Dr. Pittenger stands in the Catholic tradition and is especially in sympathy with St. Thomas Aquinas and Baron von Hügel. His range of intellectual sympathies is wide enough to allow him to make good use of insights into the nature of man drawn from anthropology, sociology, and the metaphysics of Whitehead.

Taking his cue from a remark of the late Archibishop Temple that Christianity is the most "materialistic" of all religions, Dr. Pittenger sketches a general argument for the significance of the physical, bodily, and social means of expression of the spiritual realities. Man is a "society-body-mind" complex. All knowledge comes through the instrumentality of the senses. All human expression, communication, and spiritual experience requires the use of physical means, including those means which we call signs and symbols. We live in an "incarnational world," Dr. Pittenger argues, and thus develops his thesis that the Christian view of God's "en-man-ment" in Christ is a supreme exemplification of a principle which must be taken into account in interpreting all man's experience. "God made man and the world as they are, in the sense that it is not an accident, or a result of sin and evil, that they are compounded of matter and spirit. Presumably he wanted them to be and likes them to be that way. There is no reason for anyone to try to be more spiritually minded than God" (p. 83).

The thesis is so persuasively put, and, as the author says, it is so much a matter of common sense, that one has to look at certain of its implications to see that further questions need to be explored, for example, just what the metaphysical relation of matter and spirit should be taken to be on the basis of Pittenger's argument. He says that "reality is disclosed to us not in spite of but through and by means of the material and physical world" (p. 34). But is reality itself something other than this world of which we take account by physical means? Dr. Pittenger identifies his view of God with "what the Christian tradition has always meant" by God, that is the "one supreme, utterly

real Being, the *ens realissimum* of St. Thomas Aquinas" (p. 152). This God works in history, and makes use of physical structures, signs, and human bodies to express his nature. The question naturally arises whether the Neoplatonic metaphysics of traditional theology is necessary to the point of view Pittenger is taking, or, indeed, does not his argument involve an implicit criticism of the dualism between the natural and the supernatural?

A related point deserves attention because it involves the problem of the unity of the church. In an especially discerning and charitable essay, Dr. Pittenger discusses the significance of the episcopacy in the church. He says the *function* of the episcopacy is its most important aspect. But would not this leave open the possibility of saying that the function of episcopacy, that is, spiritual oversight over the whole church, has been exercized and symbolized in ways other than the formal episcopate? Surely the function of episcopacy has not always been restricted to one ecclesiastical office. Once the fact is fully accepted that the expression of the spiritual nature of the church can take various forms, many of the barriers to unity, including common sharing in Holy Communion, would be overcome. Dr. Pittenger does not carry his argument this far, but he opens the way for such a position. Any serious inquirer will find mature insight into the nature of religion vividly and intelligibly expressed in this excellent little book.

DANIEL D. WILLIAMS

Chicago Theological Seminary

Journal in the Night. By THEODOR HAECKER. Translated from the German by ALEXANDER DRU. New York. Pantheon Books, 1950. xlvi, 222 pp. $3.00.

Like Maritain, Péguy, Léon Blois, and Bernanos, Theodor Haecker belongs to a group of European Catholics recently introduced to the American public by the Pantheon Press. Like them, he evaluates the crisis of our culture from the Catholic point of view. Previous to the publication of *Journal in the Night,* Haecker had been known among philosophers and theologians in Germany through his work on Kierkegaard. As early as 1913, when the Danish philosopher's works were just beginning to appear in German, he wrote an essay on "Kierkegaard and the Philosophy of Inwardness," and subsequently he translated some of his works.

In 1920 Haecker was converted to Catholicism. As a Catholic publicist, he wrote against the German revolution of 1918, and, as a Catholic, he became an early and articulate opponent of National Socialism. He was officially listed as an enemy of the movement and was arrested twice for his outspoken criticism of the régime. He was forbidden to express himself in public and thus driven into intellectual and personal isolation. He died in 1945, during the final phase of Germany's defeat, which he had long foreseen and even hoped for as the only possibility of liberation from Nazi tyranny.

Haecker's recently published *Journal in the Night* contains the soliloquies of his enforced solitude during the war years (1939-1945). It is not a systematic

work but, rather, a collection of aphoristic meditations after the pattern of Pascal's *Pensées*. The book shows the author in the contemplative moods of the mystic when he reflects on the Trinity, the essence of the Universe, or the salvation of man; but it also presents him as the ardent partisan of a *literature engagée* which no longer seeks the balanced statements of the objective observer but the maximal pointedness of the protagonist. Haecker's passionate comments are stirring where they express the sorrow and anguish of a devout man who sees his people falling prey to a profoundly irreligious movement, but they become disturbing when he falls into the vituperations and simplifications he justly attacks in his opponents. There is a sterile quality in his generalizing condemnation of his German compatriots which changes the solitude imposed on him by adverse political circumstance into self-righteous spiritual aloofness from his people.

Like the Romanticists before him, Haecker traces the degeneration of modern culture to the Age of Enlightenment. "Rationalism," he writes "is the great enemy of belief, and thus the great falsifier of being" (p. 4). The absurd simplification of the world through modern totalitarianism and the arrogance based on this simplification Haecker finds to be rooted in the assumption of Rationalism that it can readily comprehend the universe and control it for man's purposes. In contrast to this view, Haecker is impressed with the inexhaustibility and mystery of being. Without sharing, however, the views of modern irrationalist philosophies which hold that the world is irrational in itself, he clings as a Catholic to the basic position of Thomism, which professes that things are reasonable and must ultimately be understood. But Haecker insists that our deepest realization of their nature will always remember that our understanding never gets to the bottom of things. This sense of the mystery of the universe leads him to question the value of the rationalist method of doubt and to advocate, instead, the method of wonder as leading to a deeper and more valuable knowledge. In his estimation, wonder is, indeed, the only adequate attitude in face of immediate being, while doubt can claim its place only in the evaluation of the powers of human understanding.

As this short summary may indicate, Haecker's reflections on theological and philosophical problems are profound and interesting, but they remain too fragmentary and too aphoristic to represent a really significant contribution to philosophy of religion. However, his book will prove an important human document for those who wish to study the voices of opposition to Hitler's dictatorial régime from within Germany.

HANNA HAFKESBRINK

The Living God. By ARMAND PIERHAL. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. 118 pp. $1.75.

One would suppose that a large audience has already been assembled for M. Armand Pierhal's type of book by the great impact upon us all of the apologetic efforts undertaken in recent years by many members of the Christian laity.

One thinks naturally of C. S. Lewis and Dorothy Sayers, who have gained such a wide and friendly reception, as well as of Rosalind Murray, Emile Cammaerts, M. Chaning-Pearce, and Denis de Rougemont. Surely there is today an audience, larger than has previously been the case in our recent history, on whose friendly attention all those may count who would defend the relevance of the Christian Faith. The one requirement that this steadily increasing body of readers demands is that the contemporary apologist seem himself to have suffered from the modern unrest, that he not be outside the tension, but deeply in touch with our modern difficulties of belief. That is to say, he does not give us pleasure unless he persuades us that the difficulties of holding orthodox belief in a heterodox world have, on occasion, drawn from him St. Paul's cry: "Lord, I believe; help, thou, mine unbelief." We look for wit and a worldly prose, for an eye for contemporary fact, and the ability to nail it down in destructive definition. Only if he has these talents, are we interested in what he has to say.

These virtues have not, however, been notable in the Catholic circles in France out of which M. Pierhal comes; increasingly we feel that the vocabulary of men like Claudel and Mauriac, with its unctuous dismissal of modern scepticism, is not capable of any deeply moving prehension of our present spiritual dilemmas. So, in view of the author's cultural affiliations, it is not surprising that, to an American reader, *The Living God* appears to be only another conventional piece of homiletic evangelicism. And this is most unfortunate, in view of M. Pierhal's announced intention to write, "first of all, for the benefit of the unbelieving reader."

Nothing sufficiently new is said about the evidences of God, the nature of suffering, the problem of immortality, or the divinity of Jesus to demand comment here. But M. Pierhal's discussions of prayer and "theotherapy" are arresting and provocative, raising disturbing questions on which he does not always seem to have too sure a grasp. And there is, on this level of his argument, an extreme and puzzling contradiction. After speaking of "God's inexhaustible mercy," which becomes available to the suffering human creature in the moment that he repents of his sin, the "Objector" avers that it will do "an unfortunate devotee of the bottle or of Venus" in some insane asylum no good at all "to regret his excesses." The author replies that the "sinner may repent without being *materially* saved" and declares: "Matter, although it has a connection with God through life which makes it fruitful, is nonetheless the domain of Satan." And this quite radical dualism underlies much of his discussion of the religious life. Yet—and this is the great contradiction—he affirms in the most unqualified way the efficacy of prayer, even citing extracts from his diaries which report occasions on which he has gained immediate relief from bad head-colds and other ailments through prayer. M. Pierhal is writing from personal experience, and one does not want to question his veracity, though one does wonder how accurately he has interpreted his experience and how wise

are his judgments of the relative value of medical therapy and "theotherapy" in dealing with physical ailments.

This writer, in conclusion and as an aside, would also like to say that he has grown a little weary of the habit among French Catholic publicists of using André Gide for purposes of theological flagellation, as M. Pierhal does when he draws upon Gide's sexual confessions for sermon-texts.

NATHAN A. SCOTT, JR.

Addressed To Christians: Isolationism vs. World Community. By FLOYD H. Ross. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. 154 pp. $2.00.

It is the thesis of this brief volume that the time has come for prophetic and intelligent Christians to slough off the last remaining ties which bind them to the past and to that which is local, particular, and thus provincial, in their faith, in order that they may give constructive leadership to the present movement towards world community. Just as a previous generation of liberals abandoned the policy of "radical displacement" espoused by the orthodox, present-day liberals must go beyond the "half-way house" of contemporary neo-orthodox confessionalism, which is "in unstable equilibrium: it either ends up in a disguised dogmatism or eventuates in an honest acceptance of the unending nature of the pilgrimage of faith" (p. 14). Professor Ross believes that, when any religion, including Christianity, claims finality, sufficiency, or uniqueness for its dogmas and symbols, it engages in a form of idolatry which effectively blocks any genuinely constructive approach to the problem of world community.

To buttress this thesis he devotes most of the volume to a rapid survey of Christian history, pointing to those features of Christianity in various eras which have betrayed its latent universalism. He begins with Jesus and declares that the Nazarene's prophetic universalism was obscured and compromised by the fact that he was a Nazarene and couched his Gospel of the Kingdom in terms of Jewish apocalyptic—"undoubtedly one of the most particularistic strands in the teachings of Jesus" (p. 22). Subsequently and consequently the early church was split over the issue of particularism versus universalism, and Paul offered only an ambiguous solution in his Hebrew-Greek hybrid theology; indeed, the horizon of Christianity narrowed as the community expanded. The narrowness finally hardened in the era of creed-making and "externalization," and with the establishment of Catholicism East and West "a kind of theological rigor mortis developed in the Christian body" (p. 66).

The "Hesitant Reformers" rebelled against the structural exclusiveness of the Roman Church but relapsed into a biblical dogmatism even more exclusivist than Catholicism had been. The further revolt of the nineteenth century liberals was, at best, a "cautious advance." Most liberals, like contemporary neo-orthodox thinkers, still cling to a belief in some kind of absoluteness for Christianity, and "such an assertion of fulness or completion can never be objectively supported" (p. 122). Therefore men of good will, who are

to be found in all branches of the Church and in all schools of theology straddling various fences, must move on into a genuinely "objective" search for a truly universal faith for the world community.

Unfortunately, Professor Ross devotes little space to a further explanation of what he means by "objectivity" as applied to the problem of world community. He asserts that he does not wish to imply "that all religions are equally true or equally false," but that "all traditional yardsticks for measuring or grading the religions of mankind are outmoded." Frequent reference is made to similarities in the testimony of mystics in various faiths, and there is a one-sentence description of what the author considers "high religion" (pp. 134 ff.). But the crucial question of criteria is not thus adequately handled or even recognized.

J. A. Martin, Jr.

Religion Makes Sense. By Randolph Crump Miller. Chicago: Wilcox and Follett, 1950. iii, 308 pp. $3.00.

Here is a book for laymen by a professor of the philosophy of religion. The author is a teacher in the Church Divinity School of the Pacific. He is also pastor of a suburban church near Berkeley. In the preface he gives us a brief glimpse of his home which tends to create in the reader the feeling that the author is a man, aware of life's joys and sorrows, who knows whereof he writes.

Two impressions of Professor Miller's book remain with this reader. First, it is a product of, and probably characteristic of, liberal evangelical Christianity within the Protestant Episcopal Church. The author wants to read the Bible himself and he wants laymen to read it in the light of "the best available scholarship." He believes that the Bible, tradition, and the creeds "are subject to the critical investigations of the modern mind." He believes in liberalism because it "seeks truth at all costs" and "continues to examine every fact of experience and to use every possible method of research to establish its claims." The God in whom he believes works through processes of growth. Moreover, God can only work out His purpose in the world as men choose freely to work with Him. Man has real freedom within the structure of God's purpose.

The other impression left by this book is that this kind of liberal Christianity can be shown to have a great measure of practicality. The author freely improvises on the basis of the classical Christian faith, applying that faith to many concrete situations. He makes his points clearly and illustrates them so laymen can see them. In its analysis of the various types of realism, in its plea for rich and abundant living, in its discussion of what the Christian spirit means in the vocations, in its emphasis on the character-building effects of family fellowship the book is liberal in theory but down to earth in practical application.

Those who are looking for the results of research or who have been led by the title of this book to anticipate a philosophical defence of religion will be disappointed. But those who are tired of current presentations of religion as a

kind of cheap nostrum for physical and mental ills, and who crave a hopeful, intelligent, forthright, and practical faith in terms of the Christian tradition will find it in these pages.

JUSTIN WROE NIXON

The Gospel and Modern Thought. By ALAN RICHARDSON. *(A Primer of Christianity*—Supplement.) New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. 210 pp. $2.00.

The excellent series of little books to which this one is a supplement consists of the following: Part I, *The Beginning of the Gospel,* by T. W. Manson; Part II, *The Furtherance of the Gospel,* by R. W. Moore; and Part III, *The Truth of the Gospel,* by G. B. Caird. Canon Richardson's book offers to clergy and laity alike a succinct, readable discussion of some of the fundamentals of the Christian faith seen in the light of the critical catholic orthodoxy which is gaining popularity, especially in the Church of England.

In accord with his insistence that there is no common scientific method applicable to all fields in which men search for truth, and that each type of inquiry must be made according to methods appropriate to its particular phenomena, the author posits the conditions to which Christian theological science is bound. The data of theology, no more than the data of any other of the human sciences (as distinct from the physical sciences) can be studied with completely detached objectivity. It is only from within the Church, from the viewpoint of the practicing member of some actual Christian community, that the data of Christianity can be known and judged in their true character.

Although the existence of the Church was consequent upon a series of historic incidents the most exact conditions of which must be disclosed with ever greater accuracy by the best of historical science, inquiry into the meaning of this historical data affirmed by the Church will carry us beyond the scope of scientific investigation into the realm of faith. For essentially, Christianity is a religion of faith and not of proof, and is based upon the unprovable, unreproducible apostolic testimony now recorded in varying forms in the New Testament. But Christian acceptance is not a matter of totally unchecked faith. Men of Canon Richardson's school of thought find Jesus acceptable as the divine revelation not on the basis of "signs," or of infallible arguments which convince the intellect, but because, in the Christ of the Gospels, and of the practicing Christian community, they encounter truth which speaks to their inmost being. Those who do not find in their experience with the historic Jesus the word of God for man cannot be converted to fidelity by any outward proofs.

The book offers a frank discussion of the interplay of faith and reason in such controversial areas as the nature of the Trinity and the Incarnation, the meaning of salvation and its possibility, the problem of evil, the validity of miracle, and the role of the Church in contemporary society.

EMMA LOU BENIGNUS

Lust for Power. By Joseph Haroutunian. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949, xi, 174 pp. $3.00.

This is an analysis of the kind of power that comes from the machine age, showing how the natural love of power in the pursuit of good becomes an unnatural lust for power which is joyless but compelling. Lust for power is a perversion of the power necessary to life. It is the author's contention that love of power and lust for power have been confused, and thus we can develop no means for destroying the lust which is a curse of our times.

There is "a liability to lust" in all men which modern society tends to bring out. When we recognize the limitations of man in the face of the possibilities of life, we begin to sense the urgency of "now or never." There is a limit to the time in which we must acquire and enjoy, and "finite men are potentially infinite in the world of machines." Power, which is the condition of good, turns into an end in itself. The good is destroyed by the power that created it, and thus power becomes a higher "good" than good. Power becomes a greater good than survival itself, for "when a man wields power, he affirms his existence, and his soul is satisfied." It is an act of desperation which arises from the emptiness of power as an object of lust, but it is his self-realization even if it is also his death. If one cannot obtain enough power, he can express this same power through the lust for freedom.

Everyone is innocent but without joy, which shows that he is as guilty as he believes his neighbor to be. "The lack of joy among us means nothing other than that we do not exist in love, or that ours is a life of lust and guilt." Each feeds the other, although both are often hidden. If lust be corrupted love, the obvious antidote is love which overcomes lust. "Love for life is that wisdom whereby we 'number our days.' " When we acknowledge that our lifetime has a beginning and end, then all our desire for power or possessions is in terms of a world that will pass away. This leads to despair and guilt, but beyond these to love of one's neighbor as one's self. There may be some men and women who have not lost their humanity, but the situation is crucial, and only the ambiguities of the Christian faith can save the world.

There is a fable which provides the key to the book. Dr. Haroutunian tells about a young economist who reads a paper and has delusions of grandeur, and then he reads another paper and suffers delusions of despair. In both cases, there is an abnormal reaction to a normal situation. This fable is supposed to prepare the reader for the analysis of lust. If it is to be taken seriously, then what this generation needs is a psychiatrist and not the Christian Gospel. The "ambiguities" running throughout the "radical analysis" of lust for power are so extreme that they point to overcoming neuroses rather than guilt.

In providing us with many keen insights, it seems to this reviewer that the author has overstated his case. We may be caught in a "sickness unto death," but it is both simpler and more complex than the two foci of lust and guilt.

Randolph Crump Miller

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

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